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A COLLECTION OF THE OCCASIONAL PAPERS For the Year 1717.

VOL. II.

With a PREFACE; and a *Table* of *Contents*, to both Volumes.

Prodesse quam conspici.

Lord Sommers's *Motto.*



LONDON: Printed for *J. Knapton*, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard; *Em. Matthews*, at the *Bible* in *Pater-Noster-Row*; *J. Roberts*, in *Warwick-lane*; *J. Harrison* under the *Royal-Exchange*; and *A. Dodd*, without *Temple-Bar*. 1718.



THE PREFACE.

A WORD *to the* Reader *is ſo Cuſtomary a Civility, that, if I had no Occaſion for any* Preface *to this* Second Volume, *either with Regard to My Self or My Correſpondents, yet it will be expected by every One who meets with this Collection, that the Book ſhould open to him, as one would open a Door, with ſome Manners, and that he be introduced into the Company, and led to the Entertainment here deſign'd him, with ſome Token of Reſpect.*

I therefore take this Opportunity to congratulate my Readers *upon the many* Excellent Pieces *publiſh'd of late, which have done ſo much Honour to the Firſt* profeſs'd Deſign *of this* Paper. *The Author is far from any*

Chagrin to obſerve, that the main Principles with which he ſet out, are ſupported by Learning and Good Sence, every way Superiour to his own. I may venture to ſay for my ſelf, that no Man in the World is more devoted to the Service of the Proteſtant Cauſe and Intereſt; But I am ſenſible I could not, on this Account, have hop'd for that Regard my Writings have met with, had I not been ſo Happy as to be on the ſame Side with ſome of the beſt Writers of the Age.

As to the Eſſay *way of Writing, which I am fallen into, 'tis encourag'd, both by the Opinion of ſome of the Beſt Judges, and the Demands made from ſeveral Parts of the* Country, *as well as the* City, *now for* Two Years. *I ſhall only add further, concerning the Papers here collected, that I hope the Uſefulneſs of the Arguments, and Variety of the Matter, will afford a Profitable Entertainment to ſuch as read with Candour; and, in the great Inſtances at firſt propoſed, may be ſerviceable to promote the Good of Mankind.*

The Author muſt here, once for all, requeſt of his Readers, that they will excuſe the many Errors *of the* Preſs. *In his Caſe they are unavoidable. His Reſolution to remain unknown, has oblig'd him ſometimes to truſt his Papers to the* Correction *of thoſe, to whom it might beſt ſuit the* Publiſher's Convenience *to ſend them. And ſometimes, not having*

ving Leiſure to tranſcribe *thoſe Things which his Friends and Correſpondents have writ, He has been forc'd to ſend at the ſame time, ſuch very* different Hands *to the Preſs, as ſerves to make ſome Apology for the* Printer *as well as Himſelf. But He has alſo been oblig'd to employ* ſeveral *Printers; ſome of which have done their Part much better than others: Tho' He has all along been willing to bear with many Things in* Them, *rather than diſcover* Himſelf.

Thoſe Letters which now lie by the Author, particularly One from Norwich, *and Another from* Exeter, *ſhall have a due Regard ſhewn to them, as ſoon as a proper Occaſion offers. And thoſe of my Correſpondents who are willing to ſerve the Publick, by contributing any Thing that may render* Themſelves *Conſiderable, whilſt they allow* Me *to lie conceal'd, may expect all the Reputation this Paper is capable of giving them. To this I cannot forbear adding, Tho' I do not think my* own Name *of any great Importance, yet I ſhould think it an Ornament to theſe* Eſſays *to have had the Liberty of inſerting ſome* other Names *to which I am indebted. However, this I ſhall ſtill take Care of, to oblige All thoſe who are pleas'd to communicate any Thing that may ſerve my Deſign (according to my firſt Advertiſement) by following their own Directions.*

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THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. I.

OF ORTHODOXY.

Chryſoſt. in Ep. Coloſs. cap. 3. Homil. 9.

Μηδὲ περιμείνῃς ἕτερον διδάσκαλον, ἔχεις τὰ λόγια τῦ θεῦ· ἐκεῖνά σε διδάσκει ὡς ἐκεῖνα.

Don't look for any other Teacher, thou haſt the Oracles of God: None teaches thee like theſe.

I chooſe rather to regulate my Faith by what God hath delivered, *than by what Man* hath defined.

Arch-Biſhop *Wake's* Commentary on the Church Catechiſm. Ed. 3. p. 24.

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it ſo expound one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a Witneſs and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any Thing againſt *the ſame, ſo* beſides *the ſame ought it not to enforce any Thing to be believed for neceſſity of Salvation.*

Articles of the Ch. of *Engl.* Article 20.

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OF ORTHODOXY.

ORthodoxy is one of our most favourite Words. It has near-upon as dear a Sound in our Ears as the Church it self. And in all Reason it ought to be valu'd and esteem'd in its true and proper Signification. 'Tis, without Question, a desirable Thing, to have just and true Opinions and Sentiments. There is certainly such a Thing as Truth: And in Matters of Importance it will amply reward the utmost Pains of all who sincerely enquire after it. And there is a certain Standard by which it may be try'd, *viz.* The true Nature and State of Things. Our natural Light is in common Cases the proper Medium by which this must be discovered; and when we are guided aright by it, and form true Judgments of Things, then are our Sentiments in common Matters, whether they relate to the Knowledge of Nature, or Civil Life, properly Orthodox. The meaning of which Word, is nothing else but right Opinion, be it about any Matter whatsoever.

But as Affairs of Religion are of the greatest Importance to Men, with respect to the Peace of this Life, as well as the Happiness of another;

and Knowledge in Religion muſt be ever laid as a Foundation for all Religious Practice; therefore right Opinions about theſe Matters have come, in that part of the World that is Chriſtian, to paſs more peculiarly under this Name. This is Orthodoxy.

A Word, you ſee, like thoſe of the Church and Conſtitution, *&c.* originally of a very honeſt and well meaning Intention.

But 'tis Words of ſuch good and valuable Meaning, that deſigning Men make Choice of to amuſe and delude the more thoughtleſs and innocent Part of Mankind. Words of this kind they affix ſuch a Senſe to, as ſhall make them ſerve their own worſt Purpoſes of Ambition, Luſt of Power, and all kind of Oppreſſion, Civil and Religious. Thus has it happened to this good Word Orthodoxy. Artful Men obſerving how generally a Love of Religion was attended with an high Value for Orthodoxy, (a Love of Religion always, indeed, implying a Love of Truth) They have, by degrees, ſo chang'd the meaning of the Word, as at length to form out of it an Engine to overturn all that was at firſt honeſtly and uſefully intended by it.

Truth in Matters of Religion, is the ſame in its general Notions with all other Truths, being nothing elſe but the Agreement of our Notions with the true Nature and State of Things; thoſe Things, I mean, about which Religion is converſant. And as natural Light is the proper Medium by which we muſt come at the Knowledge of common Matters, ſo had God vouchſafed no ſupernatural Revelation, we cou'd have come at no Knowledge about Matters of Religion, but by this natural Light. By it we muſt have

have made our Enquiries into Religion; by it alone we muſt have paſſed Judgment, and determined what to approve as Orthodox, and what to condemn as the contrary.

But a Revelation from Heaven has been vouchſaf'd to Men, in which the Omniſcient God, who neither can be miſtaken himſelf, nor deceive others, hath made known the Truth to us about Matters of Religion. Therefore we may ſafely depend upon it, that what we are there taught, is Orthodox; and that which differs from it muſt come under the contrary Character. Not but the Nature of Things is the original and primary Standard of Truth ſtill; but as this Revelation is admitted to come from God, who can neither be ignorant of the true Nature of Things, nor impoſe upon his Creatures, we need go no farther than this Book of God to know what is Truth and Error: Becauſe whatever is taught for Truth there, we may depend upon the Credit of God for it, is agreeable to the Nature of Things.

But then we are to remember, that this Revelation was vouchſafed for the Exerciſe and Improvement of our natural Faculties, and not with any deſign to render them uſeleſs. For 'tis by this Help that we are to come to the Knowledge of what God has taught us in this Revelation. We are not to expect to have the Knowledge of that which is contain'd in it in any ſupernatural Way. For had God intended in all Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtolical, to aſſiſt Men by immediate Inſpiration infallibly to know the meaning of the ſacred Writings, and to ſecure them from all Errors and Miſtakes, it wou'd have been altogether a vain and unneceſſary Thing to have committed them to Writing. For

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he cou'd with as much eaſe this Way have communicated the Matter, as the Senſe, of the Revelation. It was written with this Deſign and View, that we might ſearch out the meaning in that Way in which we enquire into the Senſe of any other Writings, *viz.* By the diligent Uſe of our own natural Powers, and the other Helps of Learning and Languages proper to aſſiſt our Faculties.

If in this Way we peruſe it, endeavour to acquaint our ſelves with its true Meaning, and heartily and earneſtly deſire the common and ordinary Aſſiſtance of God; without any Enthuſiaſtick Expectations of an infallible Guidance; we are in a ſure Way to be Orthodox in the Notions we form thence of Divine Truths. The Meaſure of Orthodoxy is the Rule of Religious Truth; and that is the Holy Scriptures. Theſe alone contain an infallible, and therefore, to us, a certain Account of the Truths that concern Religion. And accordingly this is always the Account of Orthodox Chriſtianity in the Primitive Writers; which *Arnobius* gives us in few Words; * *Nihil ſumus aliud Chriſtiani niſi magiſtri Chriſti, ſummi Regis ac Principis, veneratores.* We are called Chriſtians, becauſe we take Chriſt alone for our Maſter and Inſtructor, our Ruler and King.

But in proceſs of Time, in direct Oppoſition to this ſhort Profeſſion, Men fell into the Humour of Creed making. People took it ſtrongly into their Heads, they were not ſo much to believe for themſelves, as to make a Faith for

* Lib. I. p. 20.

others.

others. And then the Senſe of Orthodoxy was ſhamefully perverted; and he was the Orthodox Man, not who agreed to the infallible Scriptures themſelves, but to the Senſe fallible Men impoſed upon them: Not he who believed in Jeſus Chriſt, but he who believed in thoſe Creed-Makers.

At firſt, as may be eaſily imagin'd, there was a terrible Struggle to whom this ſame Privilege of ſtamping Orthodoxy ſhou'd belong. The contending Parties fought it manfully. They made Creeds to ſpight each other: And as Anathema's and damnatory Clauſes were cheap enough, they dealt them about very plentifully.

In the mean Time, the cunning Biſhops of *Rome* were watching all Advantages to their own Intereſt; and at length they perſuaded the Chriſtian World, to ſuppreſs all private Mints of Orthodoxy, and got the ſole Mint fixed to the Place of their Reſidence; and ſettled the ſole Right of Coinage for the future in themſelves and Succeſſors, as belonging to their ſpiritual *Regalia*.

At the Reformation Men ſeem'd to feel, as well as ſee, the Inconveniences of this Claim; and the many mighty Miſchiefs that had enſu'd upon it. To get rid of this Arbitrary Power that had been thus uſurp'd over the Minds of Men, and to aſſert to every Chriſtian the juſt (tho' infring'd) Right of judging for himſelf, were among the profeſſed and moſt valuable Ends of departing from *Popery*.

They who proteſted againſt the Errors and Incroachments of the Church of *Rome*, with one Mouth cry'd up the Bible as the only Rule; and

and cry'd down an infallible Interpreter. They seem'd all of one Mind in this, that the Scriptures contain'd all the Truth in Matters of Religion, which was necessary to be known. They thus declar'd, and they continue still for the most part to say, that every individual Christian, be he Layman or Clergyman, Presbyter or Prelate, Cardinal or Pope, is a fallible Man, and may fall into Errors. And that when several fallible Christians meet in a Council, whether Provincial, National or Oecumenical, and club and compound their several Fallibilities, they cann't make up one common Infallibility out of them. They may, after Prayer to God for his Direction, after most solemn Vows made of Love to Truth, and Impartiality in their searches after it, nay, tho' they lay the Holy Scriptures before them, and profess to fetch all their Sentiments in Religion thence, they may be yet mistaken and miss of Truth and Orthodoxy.

And yet by an unhappy turn of Thought, many with this Protestation in their Mouths, will be forming Tests of Orthodoxy for others; to which they will require Declarations of Assent, Subscriptions, and such other Methods of Submission as too much serve to continue in Men's Minds the perverted Notion of Orthodoxy. In direct Contradiction to their avowed Principles and Declarations in this Case, they will bind down their Sentiments, nay, and their very Words upon their Brethren as the Test of Truth; to which if you will not subscribe, you shall be branded with the most odious Names; you shall be pass'd upon the World under the most hateful and horrid Character; you shall

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be mark'd out as a Wretch to be ſhunn'd, like the very Plague; as an Enemy to God's Truth, and to God himſelf.

But there are various Conſiderations, that will ſerve to evince the Invalidity and Injuſtice of ſuch a Claim and Conduct as this: That will ſhew it to be at once unreaſonable for any to uſurp, and mean for any to allow or ſubmit to, a Power of this kind in fallible Men.

There is no Foundation for it in Nature. For in this reſpect, if in any, undoubtedly all Mankind are on a Level. He that pretends to dictate his Sentiments to another, plainly breaks in upon the moſt univerſal Law of Equity; and does that by his Neighbour, which he wou'd be very unwilling any other ſhou'd do by him again. And he who yields his Neck to this Yoke, eaſily betrays and gives up the moſt valuable and unalienable Right of a reaſonable Creature; to think for himſelf, ſee with his own Eyes, and in every Matter to judge according to the beſt Light he can get of the true Merits of a Cauſe.

There is no Warrant for any thing of this kind in ſacred Writ. There every Man is allow'd and required to try for himſelf, and not to take his religious Sentiments upon Truſt from others. There is nothing more oppoſite to the Genius and Spirit of the Chriſtian Inſtitution, than a Religion taken upon Content. It was the command of its great Author, to every Individual, Search the Scriptures; it was the deſire and advice of its firſt Preachers the Apoſtles, that all Chriſtians wou'd for themſelves try the Spirits, whether they were of God; prove all Things, and hold faſt that which upon their ſerious thorow ſearch and enquiry, ſhou'd

appear to them to be Good, to be beſt. They were willing that what they ſaid ſhou'd be look'd into, and examin'd, and that every one for himſelf ſhou'd ſee whether it was reaſonable, credible, fit to be receiv'd or no. *Conſider what we ſay. I ſpeak as to wiſe Men, judge ye what I ſay.* This or ſomething of this kind was always their Language. They were far from being diſpleas'd, or ſhewing any Reſentment, when Perſons took the Liberty of doubting, ſo far as to canvaſs what they communicated to them; when they ſaw any Men trying their Doctrines, Reaſonings, Inferences, by thoſe Scriptures on which they pretended to found them. So far were they from being uneaſie and offended at it, that * to borrow Mr. *Marvel*'s Expreſſion on this Occaſion, the *Bereans* were ennobled by Patent, are mention'd with the higheſt marks of Eſteem by one of the ſacred Hiſtorians, becauſe they wou'd not credit *Paul* himſelf, whoſe Writings make now ſo great a part of the New Teſtament, until they had *ſearch'd the Scriptures daily*, whether thoſe things were ſo: And therefore they believed, being upon their own enquiry convinc'd of the Truth of what was ſaid to them.

But this Practice is not only without warrant from Scripture, but 'tis likewiſe the moſt ſignal Affront, and the moſt injurious Reflection that can poſſibly be caſt on thoſe holy Writings. 'Tis denying their Perfection, 'tis ſaying all neceſſary Truth is not contain'd in them, or at leaſt not in ſo good and proper Expreſſions as it ought to be: The Phraſes are more exceptionable, and more liable to be wreſted or miſtaken, than

* *A. Marvel*'s Hiſt.

ſome

ſome of our own. And thus it can never be conſiſtent with the Honour which is due to Chriſt, as a Prophet. It looks as tho' we apprehended we know the Father, his Nature, Mind and Will, better than the Son did. Or at leaſt cou'd cloath out as perfect Notions of Things, in better and wiſer, and ſounder Words, than he was either able or careful to make uſe of.

'Tis the greateſt Diſcouragement that can be thought of from reading and conſidering this Revelation. If I can't underſtand them in my own Senſe, if there is any Danger, that with all the Care and Pains I can take in the reading them, I may yet be damnably miſtaken in the meaning of them, I ſhall be leſs thankful than I have hitherto been, that I have thoſe Writings put into my Hand in a Language I can underſtand.

If it wou'd be much better, I am ſure it wou'd be much eaſier for me to believe as others have done before me; to believe as my Fore-fathers believed. And this I cou'd have done without ſeeing one Leaf of the Bible my ſelf. I am ſatisfy'd; other People have read this Book before I was born, they had more Time, more Judgment and Learning than I have, to be ſure they underſtood it right, I'll acquieſce in their Interpretations. And while I am thus Orthodoxly diſpos'd, you had better let me ſubſcribe, for fear if I ſhou'd come to look into it my ſelf, I ſhou'd have ſome Heretical Doubts ariſing in my mind: And then I ſhou'd ſign with more Difficulty, with leſs Satisfaction.

And let not my Reader imagine me in this merely to rally; for I aſſure him I am in earneſt,

when I ſay I had rather have no Bible, than not have a Liberty of underſtanding it as I think reaſonable.

Let the Capacity, Furniture, Diligence and Honeſty of Men be what they will; how uncommon ſoever their Pretences may be to one, or all, of theſe; yet to make any Articles of Faith, or impoſe their Senſe of Scripture upon other Men, is too great a Truſt to be committed to them, unleſs they have the Spirit of Infallibility. When once they are aſſur'd themſelves they can't err, and give the World ſufficient proof they can't be miſtaken, they may be allow'd to call all that agree with them Orthodox, and all that differ from them Heretics, but not till then. When a Perſon or Synod can ſay it ſeemeth good, it ſeemeth right to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, they are much to be blamed who won't liſten to every thing that comes back'd with ſuch an Authority. But when ſuch a Guidance is not ſo much as pretended, 'tis by no means modeſt to expect an equal meaſure of Regard.

This Humour of Creed-making and Creed-impoſing is one of the moſt grievous Inſtances of Perſecution, and the grand Source of every other kind of it. If it be only their good Opinion of us, that our Fellow Chriſtians ſuſpend upon Non-aſſent to their Confeſſions of Faith, they in a very inhuman and unchriſtian Way perſecute us: 'Tis in it ſelf barbarous, ſays Mr. *Marvel*, for theſe Faith-ſtretchers, whoſoever they be, to put Men's Conſciences upon the Torture, to rack them to the length of their Notions.

I underſtand the Words of another in the ſame Senſe he does; here is the leaſt harm done me in

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ſubſcribing: But even then I am made to do a needleſs Thing merely to gratifie his Humour; which in Religious Matters I ſhall ever account Perſecution. Or I underſtand them differently; judging his Senſe to be wrong; in which Caſe, if I cannot be Orthodox without ſubſcribing, I can't be Orthodox without being Inſincere. And is this no Hardſhip, or too ſlight, now, to be call'd Perſecution? But 'tis true in Fact, that Creeds, Confeſſions, and Articles, have been in every Age made the Engines of the moſt acknowledg'd and bloody Perſecutions. It can neither be deny'd nor conceal'd, that they have been generally made to entangle Conſciences, and contriv'd for ſome Party Purpoſes; worded ſo as to reach the Intentions of ſhutting out and taking in; level'd againſt the Perſons, Eſtates, Properties, Lives, as well as the Reputation and Conſciences of particular Men. And to ſerve ſuch Purpoſes, carried not always by the Reaſon of Things, and Strength of Evidence, but often by a Majority againſt both. And Truth, Error, Orthodoxy, and Hereſy, are but Words, ordinarily ſpeaking, in this Caſe, made uſe of to wrap up theſe vile Deſigns. And then certainly, tho' a Man be required to give a Reaſon of his Faith, yet he need not thereby look upon himſelf as oblig'd to give any Account of it to every ſuch Demander, who evidently asks it merely with a Deſign to take ſome Advantage againſt him.

Now, if this be the Deſign of trying Orthodoxy, by Human, Fallible Teſts and Forms, I believe it will be eaſily granted me, that this Notion of it muſt have the moſt unhappy Tendency to prevent and ſtifle Truth. 'Tis the greateſt Enemy, and the moſt effectual Impediment

diment to the making or publiſhing any new Diſcoveries, how important, demonſtrable, or uſeful ſoever they be. 'Tis a noble Security againſt growing Wiſer, than thoſe who went before us. With all the Advantages we have from their Labours, we muſt take great care we go not one ſtep further than they did; not ſo much as venture to alter or explain a Phraſe which they have adapted and conſecrated; tho' perhaps it may have grown obſolete, and have much vary'd its Signification (as we ſee Words will) ſince they made uſe of it. Truth is never to be come at all at once: And there 'tis moſt likely in the greateſt Meaſure, and with the cleareſt Certainty to be found, where Men are encourag'd to make the freeſt and moſt impartial Search after it; and the moſt publick, unreſtrain'd, and honeſt Profeſſions, when they think they have attain'd it.

For theſe, and other Reaſons like theſe, I can't but diſlike the abus'd, narrow, and uncharitable Notion of Orthodoxy, which has too long ſet Chriſtians at variance one with another. I can't but diſapprove of it, I ſay, where-ever I ſee it. 'Tis highly Arrogant in the Papiſts: becauſe, tho' the Church of *Rome* aſſerts, ſhe is far from proving, her ſelf to be infallible; and therefore, tho' ſhe is tolerably conſiſtent in calling her ſelf Orthodox, and all that differ from her Hereticks; yet ſhe may be out: There may be great Miſtakes in the Decrees and Catechiſm of *Trent*. But ſtill I can write againſt their impos'd Canons and Traditions with ſome Temper, becauſe they proceed fairly. They ſay the Bible, without their Gloſſes upon it, is not a ſufficient and perfect Rule of Faith; and

and that their Interpretations of it are as infallibly true as the Word of God it ſelf. Grant them theſe Principles on which they go, and then they argue juſtly, that a Man muſt believe all that their Church believes in order to denominate him Orthodox.

But that Men who ſeparate from this Church on the foot of a private Judgment; that pretend to no Infallibility, and own the Bible to be a perfect, adequate Rule, that needs no Additions to eke it out, and make it a complete Directory; that Men that live and breath upon this Principle, and can juſtify their own Conduct by nothing elſe; that they, while they are engaged in a pretended Defiance to this implicit Faith, ſhou'd yet make their own Sentiments, and darling Opinions, the Standard of Truth and Orthodoxy, is both an Iniquity and a Folly not to be endured. I have often thought it looks a little oddly in our Church, in her Articles to aſſert the Scripture is the only Rule, and that Men muſt judge for themſelves, and then, at the ſame time to claim an Authority to the Church in Matters of Faith. This does not look, I muſt confeſs, as tho' ſhe were altogether ſo conſiſtent with her ſelf, or ſo great and generous an Encourager of Freedom of Thought, as I cou'd wiſh.

But thoſe that *Diſſent* from her, tho' they go on the ſame common Principles in their Receſs from *Rome*, yet have pretended to carry this their Notion of Liberty in Religious Matters ſomewhat further than the National Church has thought neceſſary. At leaſt, I am ſure, they have made a greater Noiſe about it. By their Talk, and their Writing, one wou'd be apt to think

think that all other Chriſtians beſides themſelves were either Tyrants or Slaves. They were almoſt the only Perſons who never uſurp'd, or ſubmitted to any Power of this kind. With them every degree of it has been repreſented as Anti-Chriſtian. And really, by what I have obſerved of late among ſome of their leading Men, I was ready to envy them. I was jealous they wou'd have exceeded us in aſſerting Liberty in Matters of Opinion, and in managing all Differences of this kind with Temper, Charity, and Forbearance. But if one ſhould judge of them as a Body by an unregarded Piece from that Quarter †, they are as warm and zealous for Orthodoxy, and can be as rude, as unmannerly, as unchriſtian, in their contending for it, as their Neighbours. This diſconcerted Body, crumbled into numberleſs Parties and Diviſions, agreeing as little with one another, as with the Church; they forſooth, have a Teſt of Truth and Error too: Tho' they plead for a Liberty of Diſſenting from every body elſe, yet they wou'd fain, it ſeems, keep others from exerciſing their own Judgments, in following the Dictates of their own Minds. If we may take this Author's Word, they generally think the *Confeſſion* of the Aſſembly of Divines, and their *Catechiſms*, ſuch Forms of ſound Words as every Chriſtian is oblig'd to hold faſt; and to believe as well as his Bible, or elſe he is not Orthodox. I know the Diſſenters too well, to think this is their Opinion as a Body. The doughty Author of this Performance, I take to be a Man of much the ſame Make, and I hope of as incon-

† *The Duty of holding faſt the Form of ſound Words.* Printed for *J. Clark.*

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ſiderable a Figure among them, as the Advocate for the *Church of* England's *being the ſole Encourager of Free-Thinking* is in the Church; whoſe Paper I conſider'd in my laſt.

But I am ſorry there ſhould be among thoſe ſtrenuous Aſſertors of Religious as well as Civil Liberty, any one that ſhould ſtart up out of a Corner, thus pretending to a Dominion over the Faith and Conſciences of other Men.

I wou'd hope the Set of Men He profeſſes ſuch a Veneration for, had too great a regard to the Principles of Chriſtian Liberty, and too great a value for the Scriptures, to pretend to ſet their own Compoſures on a level with them; or to make them a Rule to try the Scriptures by. For thus I find them expreſſing themſelves, * *The ſupreme Judge by which all Controverſies of Religion are to be determin'd, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of antient Writers, Doctrines of Men, and private Spirits are to be examin'd; and in whoſe Sentence we are to reſt, can be no other than the holy Spirit ſpeaking in the Scriptures.* Agreeably to what they ſay in the Anſwer to the ſecond Queſtion in their Catechiſm. *The Word of God which is contain'd in the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, is the* O N L Y *Rule*, &c. By which one wou'd be ready to conclude, that they wou'd be far from reckoning their own Confeſſion as worthy of regard, and as neceſſary to be believ'd and held faſt, as the Form of Sound Words deliver'd by an Apoſtle: Thoſe that were Men of any Piety or Learning among them, wou'd certainly have abhor'd the thought

* Aſſemblies Confeſſion, *Art.* 10.

of thus by Conſequence hoiſting themſelves up to an Equality with the firſt Founders of Chriſtianity.

But ſo has it happen'd to them, as it even has, and will happen to all ſuch Aſſemblies of Men. Let a Convocation, Aſſembly or Council, ſhew ever ſo much Regard to the Holy Scriptures themſelves; tho' as in the third General Council at *Epheſus* under *Theodoſius*, the Holy Scriptures are with the greateſt Solemnity and Sincerity placed in an eminent Throne, to preſide, and be as a Guide to all their Controverſies; yet thoſe that come after them, if they don't place their Decrees in the Room, they'll find a place for them by the Side of the Scriptures. However honeſtly the Council may mean all their Labours as a Comment, and an Help to underſtand the Text; yet ſometimes deſigning Men will repreſent them, ſometimes weak Men will miſtake them, for a part of the Text; or which is the ſame Thing, of equal Value and Authority with the Text it ſelf.

And thus 'tis inſinuated, by this Believer in the *Aſſembly*, Chriſtians may well do with reſpect to their Writings, becauſe they annex Paſſages of Scripture, to what they aſſert, as a Proof. As a Proof, of what? That they were infallible Interpreters of Scripture? no, by no means: And as a Proof that they were not ſo, I muſt remind this Man of a Paſſage I meet with in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times.

In the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, (whoſe Works are now ſo much admired, after that our Church has ſhown her Contempt of them, and the Civil Courts treat them as pieces of Superſtition) there were divers Members of both Houſes of Par-

Parliament; and among the reſt *one* Mr. *Selden*, who upon their Citing of their Texts of Scripture, ſometimes took the Liberty to tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket Bibles with Gilt Leaves* (which they would often (ſays the * Hiſtorian) pull out and read) *the Tranſlation may be ſo, but the* Greek *and the* Hebrew *ſignifie thus and thus.*

So that their Proofs prove only thus much, that they think they have found out the Truth contain'd in the Scriptures, in the ſame way in which with equal Judgment, Learning, and Integrity, others may enquire over again, and find out the Truth after them.

But now if this were all theſe good Men were capable of, or pretended to, may they not poſſibly have miſtaken the Word of God themſelves? Am I to take their Interpretations at a venture, whether they agree with it or no? No, you may ſearch the Scriptures. Poſſibly I have done ſo, and think them miſtaken, what then, may I tell the World ſo? By no means; what, in ſpite of Evidence, muſt I think my ſelf in the wrong, and theſe good Men in the right, and ſet to my Work again, and again enquire into the Holy Writings, and that till I find their Senſe there? Is this a fair and honeſt Way of proceeding, to call the Scriptures my only Rule, and yet make another Rule to try the Scriptures by? Is this fetching my Notions of Religion from the Divine Revelation? Or is it not rather preſſing the Word of God to ſpeak my Senſe? And a declar'd Purpoſe, that I will not hear God himſelf ſpeaking in his Word, till he is Ortho-

* *Whitlock's Memor. of the* Engliſh *Affairs in the Reign of King* Charles *the* I. *p.* 68.

dox, and ſpeak as I wou'd have him. Is not this in effect to make a Rule for God, inſtead of receiving one from him.

Well, but may it be ſaid, muſt we not *hold faſt the Form of ſound Words?* Yes every Form of Words that we can be infallibly ſure, are ſound. Every Form the inſpir'd Apoſtle deliver'd. But 'tis mere ſlight of Hand to clap a Form of a fallible Man or an Aſſembly of Men, in the ſtead of that deliver'd by St. *Paul*, and then repeat his Words concerning the Form that *Timothy* heard of him.

But are not thoſe Teſts of Orthodoxy uſeful to preſerve Unity and Peace in the Church? Without them, what ſtop can be put to the numerous and extravagant Fancies of particular Men? The Church will be torn in pieces by contrary and oppoſite Doctrines, and the Voice of Peace will never be heard in the clamorous Noiſe of contending Parties.

Peace and Unity are certainly deſirable Things; but Experience has long ſhown, they are never likely to be attain'd by other Teſts of Orthodoxy, than Chriſt has fixed in his Word. New Teſts and Deciſions uſually raiſe new Quarrels and Diſputes, and ſuch as are often manag'd with more Animoſity, than the former Differences they were deſign'd to put an End to. A Difference in Opinion may be brought to an end by a fair and calm Debate: But when precipitate Meaſures, and the Interpoſition of an Authority that is either controverted or rejected, has form'd Parties, raiſed Mens Paſſions, made twenty Controverſies of one, and taught Men to hate each other heartily into the Bargain, it is ſo far from putting an end to the Difference,

ference, that it fairly puts an end to the hope of Reconciliation.

The old Gentleman at *Rome* ſeems to be ſenſible of this, and therefore with all his Infallibility he rather permits the *Dominicans* and the *Franciſcans* to fight out their Quarrel, than hazard the Peace of his own Communion by interpoſing his Authority. And I am apt to think by this Time, he is fully ſatisfy'd, that he would better have conſulted the Intereſt of his See, and the Honour of his Infallibility, had he obſerv'd the ſame Meaſures in relation to his Conſtitution *Unigenitus*.

But how ſhall we know where to ſettle at this Rate? We ſhall be in an eternal Fluctuation, doubting and diſputing about every Thing.

Why ſo? Sure a Man may be fully and ſtedfaſtly perſuaded in his own Mind of the Truth and Importance of what he holds in Religion, without believing himſelf to be infallible, or acting as tho' he were ſo. Keeping cloſe to the ſacred Writings is the only Way to be no more Children, toſſed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine; according as that Wind ſits one while from *Rome*, another while from *Geneva*; one time from the Court, another time from the Convocation; by and by from *Ausburgh*; anon from *Weſtminſter* or *Scotland*; as in *Conſtantine*'s Time the Wind of Doctrine blew one way, in *Valens*'s Time it blew about again another, according as the ſeveral Creed-makers prevail'd. Keeping to the Scriptures is the only Way to avoid this Toſſing to and fro. Let Evidence determine, and the ſame Evidence will keep ſettled. Let not Fancy, Cuſtom, Humour, Sophiſtry, Human Authority, or any other Wind from

from what Quarter ſoever it blows, toſs you about, or drive you away.

But wou'd you let in all manner of monſtrous abſurd Opinions into the Church? By theſe Teſts of Orthodoxy, we hope to keep Men of dangerous Principles from the Credit and Opportunity, they might otherwiſe have as authorized Teachers of Truth, to miſlead the unwary into their Errors.

But do theſe Deciſions of Orthodoxy declare only againſt erroneous and dangerous Principles? How come there then to be among them, ſuch as by turns cenſure and condemn each other.

Beſides, as this Method has only a Proſpect, and that a very uncertain one too, of ſecuring againſt Error; ſo it has the moſt likely hazard of creating miſunderſtanding and cenſoriouſneſs; And of looſing that Goodneſs and Charity, and many other Chriſtian Vertues that are of greater Conſequence, than Truth it ſelf in innumerable Caſes. Indeed, ſuch Opinions as tend to extinguiſh Goodneſs, and promote Uncharitableneſs, are themſelves the moſt dangerous Errors. And if this Method may poſſibly keep out ſome dangerous Opinions, it however promotes others directly contrary to the Temper and End of Religion and Chriſtianity. But in anſwer to this Plea, it may ſuffice to ſay, that it never yet has, nor in all likelihood ever will keep out Men of dangerous Principles, if all muſt be thought ſo, that agree not to the Mode of Orthodoxy. It may perhaps keep ſome from looking at all into ſuch Queſtions, where they may fear their Enquiries will not iſſue in the Opinions that happen to be ſtamp'd for Orthodoxy among them: Nevertheleſs, if Men chance to have

have contrary Opinions, there are Inventions enough whereby they may keep their Opinions and their Orthodoxy too. Can it be believ'd, that all of the Church of *Rome* have Faith enough in their Church, and Senſe little enough in themſelves, to believe Tranſubſtantiation? I ſay nothing nearer home: But ſome certain Diſputes, in which Senſe Articles may be ſubſcribed, have ſome Meaning. Whether for inſtance, as Articles of Peace, or in any poſſible Literal or Grammatical Senſe; or in fine, in a Senſe in which they can be true, and not in a Senſe in which they neither are, nor can be ſo. How then do ſuch Teſts anſwer their pretended Intention, if a Man becomes Orthodox by Subſcription? Men may ſit as long as they pleaſe, to determine what ſhall be ſubſcribed for Orthodox, but methinks they might ſpare their Pains, conſidering that other Men will ſit again upon them, and their Deciſions; and if they can't believe them, will determine at laſt for themſelves a Senſe in which they can ſubſcribe them, if they judge it for their Convenience ſo to do.

But if the Scripture be a Teſt ſufficient, and the ſubſcribing this enough to denominate a Man Orthodox, how ſhall we know how to rank and call Men.

True, this has ſomething in it indeed. Were we come to this paſs, we ſhou'd be at a ſad Loſs for *Shibboleths*, that is, for Party Names and Invidious Marks of Diſtinction: And ſhou'd be forc'd to ſhare the Name *Chriſtian* in common with all other Pretenders to it. Thus all who own'd the Bible, and believ'd in Jeſus Chriſt were without any Diſtinction call'd Chriſtians firſt at *Antioch*, notwithſtanding their different Sentiments. Then each

each Squadron had not got ſome Man's Name at the Head of them, inſtead of that of Jeſus Chriſt. And I can't think it wou'd be any juſt Matter of Lamentation, ſhou'd it ever come to be thus with the Chriſtian World again.

But what wou'd you have them own'd and receiv'd as our Fellow Chriſtians who err in Fundamentals, who differ in important Articles, and bring in damnable Hereſies?

I never yet cou'd ſee a Liſt of Fundamentals in Chriſtianity. I have heard *Proteſtants* when upbraided by the *Romaniſts* for want of Unity, plead Agreement in Fundamentals. And I have heard the *Papiſts* hereupon demand ſuch a Liſt, but I never knew any *Proteſtant* hardy enough to produce it. That only in my Notion is a Fundamental miſtake in Religion, which is inconſiſtent with a good Heart and a Religious Converſation. If a Man give any reaſonable Evidence of his being impreſs'd with a fear of God, and that he is concern'd to know and do his Will, however he may err we are not to ſeat our ſelves in God's Throne; and becauſe he is not Religious in our Way, reprobate him at once, and conclude him profane and ungodly. 'Twill be kind to uſe all the proper Methods we can, to convince and reclaim him: But to condemn, anathematize, and cenſure him as an Heretick; and then cry, away with him from the Earth; this is the very Spirit of the Inquiſition, and a conduct worthy only of that ſhameleſs Church who has no bounds to her Claims, nor any Pity or Remorſe to thoſe that diſpute them.

FINIS.

THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. II.

LETTERS

TO THE

AUTHOR.

CONTAINING,

I. A Vindication of the Character of a Proteſtant from Modern Diſtinctions.
II. Of the *Roe-Buck* Proceſſion, *January* 19. With a Judgment on Sir *H. M's.* Pamphlet, *Down with the Mug-Houſes.*
III. Of Canvaſſing for Places, eſpecially by Churchmen.
IV. Of the Jumble and Miſchief of unconnected Ideas.
V. Of the Diſſenters writing little againſt Popery in King *James's* Time.

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LETTERS

TO THE

AUTHOR.

THIS Miſcellany comes Abroad into the World with all grateful Acknowledgments to my Correſpondents, for the early Aſſiſtance ſo many of them have been pleaſed to give towards carrying on this Second Volume. As that Paper in the former, which was wholly taken up in ſuch Letters, met with particular Acceptance; I cannot doubt but this will be at leaſt an equal Entertainment, being upon ſeveral Subjects of Conſequence or of agreeable Amuſement. I lay them together, as they come in my Way, without being ſollicitous about their Order, any further, than to Number them according to the Account of their Subjects given in the general Title.

I. *To the Author of the* OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SIR,

AMONG your Monthly Entertainments, I read with particular Pleaſure your *Character of a Proteſtant*, ſoon after your ſetting out. And as you have drawn Him, *Proteſtant* is the Name I ſhould chuſe to be call'd by above all others, except that which the Diſciples firſt receiv'd at *Antioch*. I could not like to take my Denomination from any Man upon Earth. My Religion teaches me to call no Man Maſter, or Rabbi, but Jeſus Chriſt; and it ſeems one Way of calling Men ſo, to be call'd after Them inſtead of Chriſt. What if I ſhould underſtand the Scripture the ſame Way as it was underſtood before me by ſome great Man, (*Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Arminius*, ſuppoſe)? I do not go into that Senſe becauſe it was any of theirs, but becauſe I apprehend it to be the Mind of Chriſt. I might with equal Reaſon be made to bear the Names of all thoſe, who in the ſeveral Ages of the Church have been of the ſame Mind with me, and underſtood the Scriptures as I do; as be call'd by the Modern Appellations of a *Lutheran*, a *Calviniſt*, or an *Arminian*. For tho' I ſhall thank any Man for his Help towards underſtanding the Bible, I defy his Authority for the Reaſon of my Aſſent. I believe in Chriſt, and not in *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or any Body elſe. Since therefore it is Chriſt's Authority alone upon which I aſſent, and he is the only Maſter I will follow in Religion; by conſequence I am a *Chriſtian*; and neither to be call'd a *Lutheran*, nor a *Calviniſt*, nor an *Arminian*, which ſoever of thoſe great Men I may moſt agree with in my Sentiments.

If the Name of *Proteſtant* did not include in it hriſtianity; or if it imply'd a ſervile Submiſſion to he Opinions of any Man, or any Number of Men hatſoever; I ſhould diſlike it as much as any of he reſt. But I learn from you, that it means no ore than a *Primitive Chriſtian*; with this explicit ddition to his Character, in Honour of Chriſt and is Revelation, (occaſion'd by the Iniquity of later imes,) that it contains a Proteſt againſt all Impoſi-ons in Religion, either with reference to Faith or ractice, beyond the Diſcoveries made in the Scrip-ures. That the Name is large enough to compre-end all that embrace Chriſtianity, and yet ſufficiently mited to admit none beſides.

But after all, Sir, have not you put an Arbitrary enſe upon the Word? May not others with equal eaſon include under this Character All them that a-ree in an Oppoſition to *Rome*, tho' they *deny the very anon of Scripture?* A Pamphlet publiſh'd Yeſterday tells us, that 'All Men are Proteſtants in the No-tion of his Antagoniſt, (and that he is not ſingular in it,) who are agreed in their Oppoſition to the Tyranny, Idolatry, and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, and that this brings in all that deny the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, and the Immortality of the Soul.' And a Writer of a higher Size than that rifling Remarker, has labour'd to prove, that it uſt either be taken in ſuch a Latitude, as to be ke *Nebuchadnezzar*'s great Tree, under which Birds f almoſt all Feathers may neſtle; or elſe, that All eſide the *Lutherans* themſelves, the Original Pro-eſters, can wear the Name but as a borrow'd Fea-her. I'll tranſcribe the Paſſage, becauſe I ſuppoſe ou had not ſeen it when you wrote your *Character*,

* *Remarks on the* State-Anatomy *of Great Britain*, p. 33.

tho'

tho' it had been publiſh'd many Months before.

† 'You ſhould be particularly careful (ſays the Doctor 'to his Friend) of being impoſed upon by the Words '*Proteſtant Religion:* An Expreſſion which has of 'late been very frequent in the Mouths of a certain 'Party. For if we confine that Name to any one 'Sect, as the Word *Religion* in the ſingular Number 'ſeems to do; then, in its proper genuine Senſe, it 'ſignifies the *Lutheran Religion*, becauſe the *Lutherans* were the firſt who publickly, in a particular 'ſolemn manner, entred their Proteſt againſt the 'Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, —— by which 'they obtain'd the Name of Proteſtants, being ſo 'called from that particular ſolemn Proteſtation, 'made before all the Eſtates of the Empire, in ſuch 'a Manner as was never done by any other Church or 'Sect. But if we take the Word *Proteſtant* in another 'Senſe, and as it is commonly underſtood, to denote 'any Church, Sect or Perſon, who openly proteſts 'againſt the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, 'then we cannot ſay the *Proteſtant Religion* in the ſingular Number, but muſt ſay *Proteſtant Religions* in 'the plural Number. For in this Senſe the Word '*Proteſtant* is only Negative, and does not denote of 'what Religion the Church, Sect or Party ſo call'd 'are, but only what they are not, *viz.* they are not '*Papiſts*. And in this Senſe not only the *Lutherans* 'and the *Calviniſts*, but the *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, '*Muggletonians*, *Socinians*, *Deiſts*, nay, and *Atheiſts*, 'all may, and do come under the Denomination of '*Proteſtants*, as well as the Church of *England*. So 'that to ſay the *Proteſtant Religion*, in this Senſe, is 'nothing but Cant and Jargon, without any diſtinct 'and proper Meaning. And to ſay the *Proteſtant* '*Religion* in a reſtrain'd Senſe, to denote any one

† Brett's *Review of the* Lutheran *Principles*, 2*d* Edit. p. 39.

'Sect

Sect of Christians who may be call'd by that Name in a supereminent Manner, as the first and most solemn Protesters against Popery, to whom the Name was given upon account of that particular Protestation, signifies no other than the *Lutheran Religion.*

Don't you see, Sir, how the *Doctor* has wrested your beloved Name out of your Hands? Either excluding every Body but the *Lutherans* from a Right to it, even the Church of *England* it self, unless you will allow of *different Religions* under the common Appellation of *Protestant*; or else making it a Cant-Term, which does not necessarily suppose any thing of Religion. You may be a Deist, or an Atheist, *you are told*; be of the most different Religions, or indeed of none at all, and yet be a Protestant.

If this be so, thought I, what an Infatuation have the best Men of our Church been under for above 150 Years, to contend so earnestly for the *Protestant Religion*, when we have nothing to do with the Name, upon any other Terms, than either having a Religion peculiarly our own so call'd, or else excluding Religion out of the Notion of it? How unhappy were our *Chillingworths*, our *Stillingfleets*, and other zealous Advocates for the *Protestant Religion*, to write long and learned Treatises to prove the *Protestant Religion a safe Way to Salvation*, and to give *Rational Accounts of it!* Were they only doing an Act of Charity to defend the *Lutherans*? Or did they mean to set up the Church of *England* as a Church by it self? Or did they intend no Service to Religion all the while? Mistaken Men! They thought they were defending Reform'd Christianity, as profes'd by the Church of *England* in common with others, while they defended the *Protestant Religion:* But they wanted this new Light to set them right.

Our Legislature have run into the same Error: They have settled the Crown, in a regular Course, upon

upon the preſent Illuſtrious Houſe which wears it, *being Proteſtants.* They certainly thought This to be a Security to our Religion, as well as our Liberties; and yet never intended to oblige the Perſon who *fills* the Throne, to be a *Lutheran*; any more than to exclude him on that Account. I will not ſay, That this was the very Reaſon of the Doctor's Paragraph, to diſtinguiſh, if he could, the pleaſing Name of *Proteſtant*, out of Reputation; that theſe Acts of Settlement might have the leſs Force on the Minds of our People: Or, that he would make the Proteſtant and the Church-man oppoſite Characters, leſt King *George* ſhould have an Advantage over the Pretender in the Affections of the Church of *England*, from his being known to be a zealous Proteſtant. But the Timing of his Remarks upon His Majeſty's Acceſſion, and the whole Air of the Book look that way.

The Truth is, Sir, the Doctor, with all his Critical Nicety, does the very Thing which he warns his Friend againſt; he plays upon the Word, without conſidering the Circumſtances of the Story which gave Riſe to it.

The Name, indeed, had never been heard of, but for that Accident of Proteſting againſt the Corruptions and Tyranny of *Rome*, at the Diet of *Spires:* But when once it was heard of, it was ſo well lik'd, that it became (as you tell us from *Thuanus*) the general Name 'of all Others, who profeſſed a Deſire of 'reforming the Corruptions brought into Religion, 'and on that Account ſeparated from the Church 'of *Rome.*' Whence was this general Concurrence in coming under that Denomination? 'Tis plain, it was upon a Religious Account, for *reforming the Corruptions brought into Religion*: Therefore 'tis a vile Slander to comprehend Atheiſts and Deiſts under the Character. Aye! but don't they ſhelter themſelves under the Name? What then! ſo they do under

der the Name of the Church of *England*; as moſt of thoſe do alſo who make their *Exit* for their Crimes at *Tyburn*: But they are no more genuine Proteſtants in the one Caſe, than Sons of the Church in the other.

Nor do they all pretend to claim this Name as coming into the particular Sentiments of thoſe who made the Proteſtation.

I thank you for helping me to a Way of Thinking ſo much better upon this Head. In your Character of a Proteſtant, I ſee a general Agreement among ſuch, moſt happily accounted for, and yet Allowance made for very great Varieties: For you tell us it conſiſts in *a Belief of the Principles, upon which the ſeveral Reformed Churches reformed themſelves.* What thoſe were, you have taken the ſureſt way to diſcover, from the Principles expreſs'd in the Proteſt it ſelf, the Practice of the Proteſters, and the concurrent Declarations and Practice of the Body of Proteſtants. Here then we are upon firm Ground again, and muſt make your Chain of Principles the great Characteriſtics of a *Proteſtant*: The Sufficiency of Scripture, as the Rule of Religion, the Duty of examining all Doctrines and Practices in Religion by this Rule; the Right of every Man to judge for himſelf; an Obligation to profeſs and practiſe agreeably to his Judgment, and allowing others the ſame Liberty which we take our ſelves.

And now, Sir, upon a Review of your Eſſay, I am, as much as you, in Love with the old Name of *Proteſtant*, which our Fathers glory'd in, as ſignifying a Proteſtation for Chriſtianity, *as it was in the Beginning*. This Chriſtianity, tho' it ſhould be recover'd but yeſterday, has its own genuine Antiquity; in Compariſon of which, Corruptions, how ancient ſoever, are but the old Shoes, and mouldy Bread of Deceivers and Impoſtors: As *Calvin* in his admirable Dedication of his *Inſtitutions* to *Francis* I. of

France, expreſſes himſelf: *Quod diu incognita, ſepultaque latuit, humanæ impietatis crimen eſt; nunc cum Dei benignitate nobis redditur, ſaltem poſtliminii jure ſuam Antiquitatem recipere debebat.*

And if you have drawn a Proteſtant right, I ſhall not fear but theſe Corollaries will hold from the Account you give of him.

That different Sentiments, about ſome Paſſages, in that only Rule which the Proteſtant owns, make not a Plurality of Religions, as the Doctor contends. The *Eſſence* of the Proteſtant Religion lies in receiving the Bible as the only Rule; and it has its *Denomination* from proteſting againſt the Impoſition of another Man's Senſe of this Rule. All that agree in this, are truly of one and the ſame Religion.

That they who don't receive the Bible at all for their Rule, want the Fundamental of a Proteſtant, and can only wear the Name in a very abuſive Senſe of the Word. And yet,

That when any ſuch join in proteſting againſt the *Romiſh* Corruption and Tyranny, they are in Truth as good Proteſtants as thoſe, who, while they ſay the Bible is the only Rule, yet impoſe other Standards and Rules, or their own Senſe of that Bible; and ſo in Fact deſtroy, or deny that which they aſſert in Words.

That for all People or Churches, who go under this general Name, they are, in truth, to be eſteem'd more or leſs Proteſtant, according as the Principles or Practices they avow in Religion, are more or leſs ſtrictly conform'd to the common Rule; and as the Liberty and Charity they allow to others, are more or leſs extenſive. And whatever any Church has peculiar to her ſelf, or not common to all Chriſtians, can by no means give it a greater Right than her Neighbours, to the Character of a Proteſtant.

I am, with all Reſpect, &c.

Feb. 6. $17\frac{16}{17}$.

II. *To*

II. *To the Author of the* OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SIR, *Feb. 6.* $17\frac{16}{17}$.

I Congratulate you upon King *George*'s happy Arrival, a *ſecond Time*, in theſe his Dominions; and upon the joyful Reception he met with from all Sorts of People. This Salutation, I am perſwaded, will be highly agreeable to you; ſince my Acquaintance with you enables me to ſay, That there is not a Man in *England* whoſe Pleaſure could riſe higher upon ſuch an Occaſion than yours muſt do. 'Tis only by ſuch a Prince, that Sentiments large and generous as yours, can be ſupported: And, methinks, I ſee you in Tranſports gazing upon the Man who is form'd and rais'd by Heaven, to promote that *Civil* and *Chriſtian Liberty*, for which you are ſo warm and continual an Advocate. Whilſt the two other Parts of the Legiſlature (the Lords and Commons in Parliament) were waiting for His Majeſty (their Head) to direct, animate and confirm their Proceedings; I cannot but fancy that I ſee your Heart beating for Joy, to look upon the King as he paſſes by, with the Thoughts of what may in a little Time be effected by his Wiſdom and Conduct in the enſuing Parliament. Methinks I hear you tell thoſe that ſtand by you (with Eyes fix'd upon the King's Coach) 'There goes the Man, who, after Envy's 'Snakes have hiſs'd their loudeſt, muſt be acknow-'ledged the greateſt, and beſt crown'd Head in the 'World. There goes the Man, who, in our pre-'ſent Circumſtances, is the only fit Perſon to make 'theſe Nations eaſie, united, and happy.

Thus far, I am perſwaded, I have not varied from your own Way of thinking; but I know not what

you will ſay of my next Congratulation, and that is upon the *Proceſſion in the Evening*. If you do not think it a Subject too low for your Paper, I ſhould be glad to ſee your Thoughts on ſuch Pieces of Pageantry: In the mean time I ſhall take the Liberty to communicate mine. Some Wiſe Men in the City have thought that the very Pageants of the Rebel-Generals might occaſion a freſh Sedition. And, indeed, they are every whit as proper to be ſet up for the Head of a Party, as the Men they repreſent. But are the ill-affected Mob ſo mad as that comes to, that a piece of Paſt-board, or a Broom-ſtick would be ſufficient to animate them againſt King *George?* Really, Sir, they are far from being beholden to the wiſe Speech-makers that have given ſuch a Repreſentation of them; or elſe, from their great Stilneſs and Silence, 'tis plain, neither their Numbers, nor their Courage is ſo great as thoſe Speech-makers would have us to think. We have now the Satisfaction to find, that a Body of the Loyal Mob could go from one End of the City to another, without any Oppoſition or Diſturbance, when a little while ago they were forced to fight their Way, with King *George*'s Name in their Mouths; and yet they never carried ſo many, and ſuch great Provocations to the *Tories*, as in this Proceſſion.

We have alſo the Pleaſure of obſerving the Difference between a *Whig* and a *Tory-Mob*: The *Tories* are infamous for the vileſt Abuſes offer'd to Perſons in the Streets, battering of Windows, plundering of Houſes, and committing a thouſand Outrages: The *Whig-Mob*, tho' much more numerous, and now fluſh'd with the Safety and Succeſs of the King in all his Undertakings, yet were not chargeable with any thing miſchievous, or injurious to any one Perſon; no, not even to thoſe who had formerly moſt provok'd them.

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By this Conduct their Numbers were continually increaſing, and even thoſe that did not joyn with them, yet went their way under ſtrange Mechanical Impreſſions, that they could not help thinking and talking of what they had ſeen, till they ſhow'd, that their Fancies and their Humours were plainly captivated.

After this I don't wonder to hear the *Jacobites*, and thoſe that are *Popiſhly* affected, inveighing againſt ſuch Proceſſions; ſince by theſe they ſee themſelves and their Attempts expoſed to the greateſt Scorn before the Mob: I ſay the Mob, whom they have made it their chief Attempt to gain over to their Party. But to find any that are hearty againſt Popery, or Friends to the preſent Government, uneaſie at theſe *Shows*, is a little to be wonder'd at.

To treat the *Pope*, and the ſeveral Orders of *Popiſh Prieſts*, in ſuch a manner, muſt be acknowledged highly proper, when we conſider how much their Religion is made up of Pageantry and Show: And how meer a Banter upon Mankind, and upon all that is Sacred, the Fopperies of the Romaniſts really are. Had they not ſhown themſelves too much in earneſt by ſhedding Rivers of innocent Blood to ſupport their Follies; and by theſe, their Grandeur; one would never have gone about to confute Popery any other Way than by expoſing it to Jeſt and Scorn. But when one conſiders how many Maſſacrees, Burnings, Breakings upon the Wheel, *&c.* the Pope and his Prieſts are chargeable with, it is but a very juſt Repreſentation of their Deſerts to caſt their Effigies into the Flames.

Ay, but this may provoke them to attempt ſome further and greater Miſchief. What then? Are we to ſhow a Fear of them? No, let 'em do all the Miſchief they can or dare, Thanks be to God, we ſee how little Succeſs they are like to have in it. 'Tis certain, the Papiſts are now upon their la[illegible] Legs in *England*;

England; and therefore, no doubt, will do all the Miſchief they can, whether there be Proceſſions to expoſe them, or not: But for my own Part I am ſatisfied they loſe much of their Spirit, and many of their Adherents, by ſuch Proceedings.

Again 'tis objected, that whatever may be ſaid for the Popiſh Figures, yet to carry the Figures of *Mar* and *Foſter* in ſuch a Manner, is to *inſult* Men in Miſery; which is neither ſuitable to the generous Temper of the *Engliſh*, nor the Spirit of Chriſtianity. The main Force of this Plea lyes in the Word *inſult*, which like many others lately perverted by the Tories, is uſed quite wrong. Here is nothing like adding of Affliction to Men that are ſuffering the juſt Puniſhment of their Crimes; but an expoſing of Thoſe who are fled from Juſtice; and that at a Time when their Crimes are ſtill juſtify'd, or excus'd, by many that were to be Spectators of their Effigies. And never was a more juſt Triumph over the Enemies of Our King and Country, than at a Seaſon when the King was receiv'd in Safety and Honour from Abroad, and the Nation ſettled in ſo much Peace and Tranquility at Home.

However, will ſome ſay, after all, theſe Mobs occaſion a great deal of Diſorder; and no Body can pretend to ſay what a Mob will come to. Why, really thoſe that find any Diſorder in themſelves may keep away from them, and ſit at Eaſe in their Houſes. There is no Danger of their being ſtoned thro' their Windows, or having their Doors broke open by a Whig Mob, as by the Tory ones. And thoſe that pretend to be concern'd for the Diſorders among the Mob themſelves, it may be proper to let them know, that there is a particular Regimen and Care to prevent it. Ay! but who can truſt to that? who can tell where Mobs will ſtop? I can tell: The Fate of *Salisbury Court*, will at any Time ſtop them. And if ever the Whig Mob riſe to the ſame enormous Wickedneſs

kedneſs that the Tories have done, I hope they will meet with the ſame Fate, and become as hated as the Jacobites now are. Till then I ſhould be ſorry to ſee any Steps taken for the Suppreſſing of thoſe Houſes, at which ſome Tory Scriblers are now enraged.

Upon this Subject Sir *H. M.* pretends to write to a *Parliament* as if he was writing to a Mob: All along his ſilly Pamphlet addreſſing to the Humours, and Prejudices and Paſſions of a Mob, rather than to Men of Senſe and Judgment: And, to do him Juſtice, he maintains exactly the ſame Spirit in the whole, that appears in the Title, *Down with the Mug.* His fooliſh Addreſs to the Clergy in general, without making any Diſtinction, at a Time when ſome have deſerv'd ſo well, and others ſo ill at Our Hands; and the manner of his declaring, in the beginning of his Paper, that the *Motto of that Great Man who fix'd the Broad Seal on the late glorious Peace* [*Le bon Tems Viendra*] is ſtill his Comfort; will, I am perſwaded, render his Performance contemptible to all Men of Senſe. And as to any Effects it may have upon the Jacobite Mob, I hope they will ſtill find a Party too hard for 'em, even at their own Weapons, in all their future Attempts.

If you have not Leiſure, or Inclination to oblige the World with any Thing of your own on this Subject, you will, by publiſhing this, oblige,

SIR,
Your thoroughly engaged Friend
and Servant,

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III. *To*

III. *To the Author of the* OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SIR,

THE Deſign upon which you are ſet out into the World is Generous and Noble; every one that wiſhes well to his Country, or Mankind; to Truth, or Religion, muſt, I think, heartily approve it.

But what can be hop'd in ſo corrupt a State of Things as ours? Would you inſpire *Britons* with a Senſe of Liberty, when they are ſunk into ſo brutiſh a Stupidity, have loſt all Taſte of virtuous Freedom, and for a ſumptuous Meal or delicious Draught, will part with all their envied Privileges, and ſell their Country, nay, their Conſciences and their Souls?

Is there any Thing in which the Freedom of a *Briton* is more Conſpicuous, than in the Power we have to chuſe thoſe that are to make Laws for us, and bear Rule over us? But how wretchedly are we degenerated from our Anceſtors in the Uſe of this Freedom? True Worth recommended Men to the Choice of their Fellow Citizens in Times paſt; now Noiſe and Clamour, and Party-Fury run down Men of the moſt ſhining Character, and recommend Men of ſmall Fortunes, and leſs Senſe and Virtue, to the higheſt Offices. And where Reaſon and Perſwaſion can't procure a Vote, a Sum of Money, an unmanly Debauch, or an Act of Power ſhall ſecure one. And Men of Virtue and Senſe muſt ſee their Country ſink in this general Corruption, or give in to the common Practice, and go through the Drudgery of recommending themſelves to an Office, by courting the vileſt of the People, with ſhameful Compliances, into their Intereſt: Which, in effect, is giving up our Liber-

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berties to ſecure them: At leaſt 'tis humouring Slaves, (for they are Slaves in the ſtricteſt Senſe, who are of a ſervile Temper) to prevent our being made ſuch. Theſe are Practices ſo mean, and indeed flagitious, and argue ſuch an abandon'd Temper of Mind, as deſerves the Correction of the ſharpeſt Satyr. Launch out a little, Sir, into this Field; try to awaken a Senſe of Shame in your Country-men, who are almoſt paſt Senſe and Shame too; grown too Stupid to be inſtructed, and too Impudent to bluſh for the moſt ſottiſh Ignorance, and moſt ſordid Vices. Or if the Age be too far gone in this Diſtemper for Reaſon or Railery to work a Cure, recommend it to thoſe in Power to take the Matter into ſerious Conſideration, and ſee whether the Wiſdom of the Nation can't find out ſome effectual Method to prevent the Growth of this deteſtable Humour, which is preparing us apace for Slavery, even in ſpite of Providence, that has hitherto preſerv'd our valuable Liberties to us, when we were ready to exchange them for a Dungeon and Shackles.

But indeed the Corruption of this Kind hath not confin'd it ſelf to our Civil Concerns, it hath made an Inroad upon Things Sacred. And the baſe Methods us'd to procure Poſts of Profit and Honour in the State, have been copy'd after for gaining Preferment in the Church. The Men who pretend to be ſanctified by Office, and ſeparated from the World, ſhall cringe to Men in Power, and fawn upon Patrons, and in nauſeous Panegyric, and ſervile Flattery, endeavour to inſinuate themſelves into their good Graces; or by a good Bribe buy the Conſent of a greedy Steward, or a covetous Guardian, where rich Benefices are in the diſpoſal of ſingle Perſons. If they are to be obtain'd by popular Election, they can ſet all the common Engines on work, Court and Treat, Bribe and Threaten; uſing all poſſible Arts to carry their End, and proſtituting the Honour of their Office

to procure a fat Benefice, or it may be to make an inconſiderable Addition to an overgrown Plurality. In the mean while the Man of Worth, the Scholar, the Gentleman, the Chriſtian, muſt reſolve to ſit Idle, or do Violence to himſelf by ſtooping to thoſe Practices which a great Mind would ſcorn, and which rigid Virtue, or ſtrict Religion, will ſcarce allow; or elſe he muſt leave the Fat of the Land to be conſumed by unprofitable Drones: While the Drudgery of Devotion, and of Public Offices, is deputed to a raw Curate, who muſt be enſlav'd to the Will of his Principals, and Starve upon little better than a Footman's Allowance.

This, Sir, is a flagrant Abuſe, which I wiſh I could perſwade you to ſet in a due Light, and endeavour to render odious to the World. 'Tis a vile trucking for Cure of Souls; and yet commonly practis'd; and that in ſpite of the Renunciation of all Simoniacal Traffick, ſo juſtly demanded by our Church of all Clerks preſented to Benefices, before they are allow'd Induction. But the Veneration for an Oath is ſo much loſt among us, even with Men of the moſt ſacred Character, that I do not wonder this Bar to Wealth and Preferment is ſo eaſily broken down or leapt over. And the Men, who are ſo open in theſe Methods of advancing themſelves, are not to be ſham'd, I doubt, by any Thing you can do to expoſe them. Nor do I know how the Miſchief which grows upon us every Day is ever likely to be prevented, till thoſe who have the Diſpoſal of Benefices, whether ſingle Perſons or Communities, take up a Reſolution never to prefer that Man that in his own Perſon, or by any other certainly known to have a Commiſſion from him, makes Application for Preferment. Commonly ſpeaking, I think, 'tis a ſure Rule in theſe Caſes, that he is moſt deſerving who is leaſt importunate. And the Man who looks upon his Office as Sacred and Divine, and is indeed mov'd

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by the Holy Ghoſt to take it upon him, will wait the Direction of Providence for a Station wherein to exerciſe it, and not thus criminally chuſe out ſuch a Station for himſelf. It diſparages a Miniſter of Chriſt to do any Thing that looks mean and ſelfiſh, or proud and vaunting. But what can Application for a Benefice imply, but either that a Man is purſuing his Gain, or proclaiming his Worth, or both together; by letting the Patron know he is very well aſſur'd of his own ſufficiency for the Poſt, and reckons his Gain a ſufficient Motive to ſolicit for the Benefice? For I don't think that any who make theſe Applications, would have their Patrons or the World believe, they are ſo diligent merely out of an Intention to do public Service.

And theſe Applications for this Reaſon ſhould be utterly forbidden: I mean as to Poſts in the Church; becauſe it has been obſerv'd, that when once Men have broken through the Reſtraints of Modeſty and Decency, and grown bold to ſolicite in their own Cauſe, they quickly throw off all Regards of this kind, and without ſhame or ſecrecy proclaim their Thirſt inſatiable, and graſp at all the Wealth they can, without any purpoſe to do the Work of their Station, or any fair Proſpect or Hope of it, without being Ubiquitaries. How much Miſchief this hath done the Church in all Ages, ſince the Venom of temporal Wealth and State was pour'd into it, and how much it hath been to the Prejudice of our own Church, can't be unknown to any that have made Obſervations upon either.

Among thoſe that Diſſent from our Church, I think there is not the ſame Room for Complaint. Their Way of being call'd out to public Work in any Congregation, is that of Election by the Body. They have no ſuch Advantage among them, as ſhould tempt Men of very great Ambition or Covetouſneſs to chuſe their Party, or ſcuffle for their Preferments. And however we may deſpiſe their Miniſters for

their vulgar Education and Endowments, they ſeem in ſome Reſpects train'd up with a greater regard to the Decencies of the Function, than thoſe educated amongſt us; and are ſeldom ſo officious, as far as I can underſtand, as to tender their Service; much leſs make ſolicitous Application, directly, or by their Friends, to be elected into any Poſt of Service amongſt them. And I could almoſt wiſh, it were the Practice among our ſelves, in this manner to bring Miniſters into Places; were it not for that of which I have been complaining, the general Corruption of Electors. I have heard ſome ſober Diſſenters lament one Inſtance as too often appearing among them: When a wealthy, or proud, or powerful, or humourſome Man, will have his own Way in an Election, or elſe will tear all the Congregation in pieces; and to carry his Point, will Court and Careſs, and Threaten the meaner part of the Audience, and thus take away from others, what he makes the Reaſon, in a great Meaſure, of his own Diſſent, a Liberty of judging for themſelves.

I know not, *Sir*, whether you will think it within your Province to attempt the Redreſs of theſe Evils. I think every Man muſt acknowledge that the Practices here condemn'd are ſcandalous to a Virtuous and Free-born People, and much more to that Chriſtian Liberty you are pleading for. But poſſibly you may judge the Temper incurable, and from deſpair of Succeſs forbear to ſay any Thing your ſelf. You are welcome, if you think it may do any Service, or is fit to have any Room in your Paper, to publiſh this Letter from

S I R,

Your Admirer, and humble Servant,

Jan. 29, 1716. Eleutherus.

IV. *To*

IV. *To the Author of the* OCCASIONAL PAPER.

Jan. 25. 1716.

SIR,

I Return you my Thanks for the Pleaſure I have receiv'd my Self in reading ſome of your late Papers; and for the good Service I hope they may have done the Public, by ſetting Right the meaning of ſome Words of general and important Uſe, and preventing the ill Conſequences a perverted Notion of *Church*, *Conſtitution*, *Orthodoxy*, &c. might occaſion.

Give me leave to hint to You another Subject, I conceive of great Importance to the ſame Deſign. 'Tis an Obſervation of Mr. *Lock*, in his Chapter *of the Aſſociation of Ideas*. He takes Notice, ' 'Tis the Office and Excellency of our Reaſon, to have, and hold together ſuch of our Ideas as have a natural Correſpondence and Connection one with another. But beſides this, there is another Connection of Ideas, wholly owing to Chance or Cuſtom. Ideas that in Themſelves are not at all of Kin, come to be ſo united in ſome Men's Minds, that 'tis very hard to ſeparate them. They always keep in Company, and the One no ſooner at any Time comes into the Underſtanding, but its Aſſociate appears with it; and if they are more than Two, the whole Gang always inſeparably ſhew themſelves together. He adds ſome Inſtances to explain his Obſervation. ' The Ideas of Goblins and Sprights have really no more to do with Darkneſs than Light. Yet let but a fooliſh Maid inculcate theſe often on the Mind of a Child, and raiſe them there together; poſſibly he ſhall never be able to ſeparate them again as long as he lives; but Darkneſs ſhall ever

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'afterwards bring with it thoſe frightful Ideas. Let 'the Idea of Infallibility be inſeparably joyn'd to 'any Perſon, and theſe Two conſtantly poſſeſs the 'Mind; and then one Body in two Places at once 'ſhall unexamined be ſwallowed for a certain Truth 'by an implicit Faith, whenever that imagin'd in-'fallible Perſon dictates, and demands Aſſent with-'out Enquiry.

'Now ſome ſuch wrong and unnatural Combina-'tions of Ideas (ſays this great Obſerver of Human 'Nature) will be found to eſtabliſh the irreconci-'lable Oppoſition between different Sects of Philoſo-'phy and Religion. This often leads Men of Sin-'cerity blindfold from common Senſe, gives Senſe 'to Jargon, Demonſtration to Abſurdity, and Con-'ſiſtency to Nonſenſe; and is the Foundation of the 'greateſt, I had almoſt ſaid, of all the Errors of the 'World.

This Obſervation, Sir, I take it, is not a dry Speculation in Philoſophy, nor uſeleſs to any Man of Sincerity, who is deſirous to be preſerved from the Infection of an Epidemick Madneſs, for ſuch in Truth it really is. We have too many Examples of it among our ſelves, both to explain the Notion it ſelf, to ſhew the many bad Conſequences that attend it, and of how much Service it would be to the World, if any Method could be found out to correct and amend it.

For Inſtance, what a wrong, unnatural Combination of Ideas make up the Notion of Kingly Government and Hereditary Succeſſion, as it lies in ſome Men's Heads. Either Education, or the din of Party Pamphlets and Converſation, have ever joined together Kingly Government, Abſolute Monarchy, Superiority to all Laws, Arbitrary Power; and from thence inferred, Unlimitted Obedience, and an Abſolute Non-Reſiſtance in all Caſes: And when the Mind has been habituated to join all theſe together,

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ingly Government never comes into the Under-anding alone, but this whole gang of Notions aſſo-iated to it, inſeparably ſhew themſelves together ith it. In like manner, Hereditary Succeſſion has een by the ſame ſort of Means aſſociated with the leas of Unalienable, Indefeaſible Right; and they all ppear ever joined together in ſuch an Underſtanding; om whence, I think, may be deriv'd the extreme Ob-inacy of ſome Perſons to all Methods of Conviction here there is the plaineſt Evidence, that theſe Notions are entirely ſeparable from each other in act and Reaſon, and that they do by no means gree in our Government with Hereditary Kings.

We have another Inſtance of the ſame Kind, as o the Notion of the Church. Every Thing that is ound in the Poſſeſſion of common Uſage and Pra-tice is joined inſeparably to it. Every Proviſion of Human Prudence, although for its Ornament only; very Garment, Geſture, and Ceremony, are ſo loſely joined in ſome Mens Heads to the Notion of he *Church*, that they can never think of the one ithout the other. On the ſame Grounds, every, the eaſt, Difference in Opinion or Practice from the com-mon Opinions and Uſage, are aſſociated to the Ideas f Hereſy, Schiſm, and Damnation, and ever ap-ear in a Gang together; though in ſpite of the laineſt Rules of Chriſtian Charity, and Proteſtant iberty.

There is ſuch another wrong Combination of *I-deas*, with reſpect to the Whigs. Men have been aught to join together Republican, Anarchy, Con-uſion, Rebellion, Murther, Forty-one, and I know ot how many frightful Notions more, to the Name f *Whig*. Theſe have been ſo riveted together in heir Minds, on ſolemn Occaſions, from the Reve-rence of the Place, the Authority of the Speaker, nd the Force of publick Oratory, that they can no more ſeparate them afterwards, than a Man who has

has been frightned by his Nurſe in his Infancy, c
ſeparate the *Ideas* of Darkneſs and Hobgoblins.

I might obſerve many other Inſtances of the ſa
Nature, but ſhall only mention to you, Sir, o
more, which is the unnatural Combination of *Id*
with the Word *Presbyterian* and *Proteſtant Diſſente*
Men have been habituated, whenever they think
a Diſſenter, to think at the ſame Time, of all ma
ner of Confuſion and Irregularity, irreconcileab
Enmity to all Civil Government, and Eccleſiaſtic
Order, implacable Hatred to the Eſtabliſh'd Churc
and Government of theſe Kingdoms; Notwithſtan
ing, they have ſeen the Diſſenters Friends to th
Church in its greateſt Danger, and as faithful Sub
jects to Princes, as any in their Dominions: Tho' the
have ſeen, at the ſame time, Principles of Paſſive O
bedience produce a barbarous Deſign of Aſſaſſinatio
and of Non-reſiſtance, make way for more than on
Rebellion. If you will bear with a ſhort Story,
will give you, Sir, one Inſtance of this ſort of Mad
neſs, by which you may ſee in what manner it po
ſeſſes the Common People. A Country-man drivin
a loaded Cart thro' a dirty Lane, the Cart was ſe
faſt; after the Horſe had attempted briskly ſeveral
Times to draw it out, he was jaded, and would draw
no more; and neither anſwer my Country-man's
Voice, nor Whip. This ſo enraged him, that at laſt
he expreſs'd his Reſentment, and way of thinking
in the following Words— *Pox on you for a confound-
ed Whiggiſh, Presbyterian Dog, you will not ſo much
as try to draw, and be damn'd to you.*

You ſee, Sir, how Confuſion, Whig, Presbyte-
rian, and Damnation lay together in this Fellow's
Head, that they follow one another in a Train, tho'
it be only to curſe a poor Horſe. I wiſh there were
no other Country-men, of a more diſtinguiſhed Cha-
racter, whoſe Brains, nevertheleſs, are in the ſame
Condition with his.

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As you do not put your Name to your Paper, I hope, Sir, you will excuſe me for not ſubſcribing mine to my Letter: But if ever we ſhould chance to know each other, you may depend upon it, you will find me with great Sincerity,

SIR,

Your very humble Servant.

V. *To the Author of the* OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SIR,

I Once did my ſelf the Honour to write to you before, and had the Favour of a publick Notice: Your Impartiality and Candour in the glorious Cauſe of Liberty and Truth; or as you expreſs it in the firſt Advertiſement; in *taking off falſe Colours, ſtating Matters of Fact as they are, and Matters of Right as they ought to be*; has encouraged me to repreſent to you a Caſe which has been often miſtaken, and is newly taken notice of by a Pamphleteer, pronounc'd in an Advertiſement, from himſelf or his Bookſeller, to *be an eminent Hand*, to the Prejudice of a ſort of People who have as juſt a Senſe of Liberty, and Averſion to Popery, as any of their Neighbours. The Caſe, in ſhort is, The Diſſenters *not writing* againſt Popery in the Reign of King *James* II. and *Addreſſing* him upon the Liberty granted † them. Now, Sir, being well acquainted with thoſe People, and the Circumſtances of that Caſe, I thought it became the Regard which every Man owes to Truth and injured Innocence, to ſet before you, in a few Words, the true State of that Caſe; not with any Deſign, I aſſure you, to diſparage the Church, or leſſen the Glory of the immortal Writings of her

† *Remarks on the State Anatomy*, p. 61, 62.

Learned Men in its Defence. For certainly never any Cauſe was better defended with greater Bravery of Spirit, or Dexterity of Management, or with better Succeſs. But can't Men do Right to themſelves without injuring other People, and blow their own Praiſes without blaſting the Credit of all about them? Muſt they needs raiſe their Triumphs and Trophies upon the Ruins of other Mens Reputation?

The Diſſenters are known by their common Principles to be at as great a Diſtance from Popery, as any Proteſtants whatſoever; and cannot reaſonably be ſuſpected of favourable Inclinations to it, by thoſe who have often charged them with too great Stifneſs in their Oppoſition, and ſtanding at too great a Diſtance from it. Their fundamental Principle of the Sufficiency and Perfection of the Scripture-Rule in all Matters of Faith and Worſhip, as well as Life and Manners, is directly oppoſite to the whole Frame of Popery, and ſtrikes at the very Root of it.

Beſides, they ſaw the Danger of Popery, and gave the firſt Alarm to the Nation in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when the High Church Men thought it a vain Fright or Melancholy Diſcontent, and charged it with Faction and Sedition. Many of their greateſt Men at that Time wrote ſeveral Things of great Conſideration in their different Kinds: Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Pool*, Mr. *Clarkſon*, Men of Learning and Capacity, equal to the beſt Writers of the Church. In the Year 1675. they joined together in a Volume of *Morning Lectures*, againſt the principal Points of the Popiſh Doctrine; in which moſt of their conſiderable Miniſters in and about the City of *London*, bore their Part; and ſeveral of them no way inferiour to any other Performances on thoſe Subjects.

Nor

Nor could they be charged with *Puſilanimity* or Cowardice in a Time of Danger, any more than Affection to Popery: For they had ſuffered ſevere Things for many Years together from the Hands of their angry Brethren, and were more inured to ſuffer by long Proſecutions, when the Church-men ſat at eaſe, and ſhone in worldly Glory; though none made louder Complaints upon the firſt Violence and Invaſion of their Rights.

But the Grand Pretence is, That at *that Time*, when Popery appeared bare-faced, and threatened a ſudden *Ruin*, ſo few of the Diſſenters wrote againſt it; but *Three* mentioned in the printed Catalogues. Now, Sir, it falls out very unluckily here, that the *firſt* Book againſt Popery in that Reign was writ by a Diſſenting Miniſter, (Mr. *Samuel Chandler*'s briſk and polite Diſcourſe concerning them *who turn the World up-ſide down*) though no Notice was ever taken of it in the publiſhed Catalogues. The ſeveral Tracts which are mentioned in them, under the Name *Ignotus*, which are ſome of them very conſiderable, were writ by an unknown Diſſenter. And 'tis a Baſeneſs below Mention, if the Neceſſity of the Caſe did not juſtifie it, That nothing which was known to come from a Diſſenter could obtain a Licenſe for the Preſs; no, though powerfully recommended by ſuch Great Men as Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Claggett*, the two beſt Reaſoners in that Controverſie; as in the Caſe of Mr. *Pendlebury*'s *Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation*, which being ſmall, was publiſhed without a Licenſe; and Mr. *Hanmer*'s larger Book againſt the *Principal Popiſh Doctrines*, which was upon this only Account, wholly ſuppreſs'd. Is it fair and equal Treatment to bind Men Hand and Foot, and upbraid them with Cowardice? To ſtop their Mouths, and then reproach them for Silence? Is this Honour, or Conſcience, or fit to be mentioned over again at this time of Day? But ſome Men know no more the

true State of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, though they live among them, than they do of the Country of the Great *Mogul*, or Cham of *Tartary*.

Beſides, the greater Part of the Church-Writings began upon perſonal Challenges and Provocations, from Conferences and Diſputes, in which it would not have been proper for Others to interpoſe. This ſometimes drew them out to a conſiderable Length, as the *Miſrepreſentations* and *Repreſentations of Popery*; the *Conferences* at the *Savoy*; and the Dean of St. *Paul's*, &c. And whereas ſeveral of the Great Church-men of thoſe Times, in the Heat of their Oppoſition to the Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſeemed to verge towards Popery, in ſome Points of Importance; as the *Authority of the Church*, the *Perfection of the Scripture*, Chriſtianity's being *Myſtical Judaiſm*, &c. Nothing could be more agreeable than to ſee High Church-men obliged to quit ſome favourite Opinions, and arguing againſt the Papiſts upon the Principles of common Proteſtantiſm; and by which the Diſſenters ſupported themſelves againſt the Claims of the Church. And there is reaſon to believe, *that* Controverſie help'd to ſet ſome of them Right in ſeveral Points, and made them more cautious and moderate all their Days.

After all, the Diſſenting Miniſters *preached* againſt Popery upon all proper Occaſions; though, as their Congregations were ſufficiently inſtructed againſt, and averſe to Popery, and ſcarce any were ever proſelyted from among them; ſo they were more imployed about their proper Province, to promote Chriſtian Knowledge, and practical Religion. After long Reſtraints from Preaching, Impriſonments, and Confiſcations, they were glad of an Opportunity of Returning to their Work, and bent their Strength to the great Purpoſes of their Miniſtry.

'Tis true, they *Addreſſed* the King upon the Liberty of Conſcience; and might they not own the favour of the Prince in reſtoring their juſt Rights, tho' not in the Way they could have deſired? and ſuſpending Laws they always thought both unrighteous, and ill-deſigned? I ask, by whoſe Influence, and for whoſe Gratification were they made? and when might they expect a *Temper*, or *Legal Relief*? If a Highway-man reſcue me from a Foot-pad, I ſhould not ſcruple to give him my Thanks: And Popery would have been nevertheleſs dangerous, tho' the Diſſenters had refuſed the Liberty, and continued under former Reſtraints. The Papiſts would have had their Liberty, whether the Diſſenters had or no: And was there not need of all Hands at work to preſerve the People, and oppoſe the common Enemy? Tho', for my part, I confeſs I ſhould have taken the Liberty granted, without thinking any Addreſs of Thanks was due for it, on thoſe Terms upon which it was granted.

However, if they * were extravagant in any Expreſſions, 'tis plain, the Church Addreſſes far exceeded them; and they are upbaided with a very ill Grace. Something might reaſonably be allowed to Men under long Oppreſſion, eſpecially if the Perſon † who drew up the Addreſs, which gave the greateſt Occaſion of this Reproach, was known to be a Perſon remarkable for Wit and Fancy, and had then received perſonal Obligations from that Prince in a very tender Point, the Pardon of his Son.

'Tis pretty ſingular, the *Schiſm-Act* ‖ ſhould be thought *a great Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and *Peace of the Church*, and an *Excellent Act*. What Church this Gentleman may mean, I am not ſo certain; but I am ſure 'tis very ſtrange an Act ſhould

* *See the Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, &c. of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.* † *Mr.* Aſop. ‖ *Remarks*, p. 59, 60.

be

be *a great Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion*, which was brought into each Houſe, and earneſtly puſhed by two Gentlemen ſince attainted of High Treaſon, and concerned in a Rebellion in Favour of the Pretender. Beſides that, 'tis contrary to the moſt ancient and fundamental Rights of Nature, the patriarchal or Family Power; and is, I think, without a Precedent, not only in any Proteſtant or Chriſtian-Country, but among *Turks* and *Pagans*; any farther than the Tyranny of *Julian*, or *Lewis* XVI. may be pleaded in this Matter. Would this High-Church-man think any Church or Power had a Right to deprive him of the Education of his *own* Children, or bringing them up as he thought beſt?

I'll venture to tell this Gentleman, upon this Occaſion, if there were but two Books writ againſt Popery in the Reign of King *James* II. That there were twenty Church-men, of conſiderable Note, among the Clergy, as well as Laity, who turned Papiſts in that Reign, and ſome of them followed the abdicated Prince; and that the late Rebels againſt King *George*, were *Papiſts* and *High-Church-men*, without two Diſſenters among them all.

Sir, your impartial Regard to Truth, will allow a fair Hearing where that is pretended to be injured, and will for ever oblige

Feb. 7. $17\frac{16}{17}$.

Your Admirer and humble Servant.

FINIS.

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THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. III.

OF PLOTS.

---------- What tho' the Field be loſt?
All is not loſt; th' unconquerable Will,
And ſtudy of Revenge, immortal Hate
And Courage never to ſubmit or yield:
(And what is elſe not to be overcome?)
That Glory never ſhall his Wrath or Might
Extort from me.--------
Conſult how we may henceforth moſt offend
Our Enemy, our own Loſs how repair,
How overcome this dire Calamity,
What Reinforcement we may gain from Hope,
If not, what Reſolution from Deſpair.

Satan's *Speech to* Beelzebub.
Milt. Parad. loſt. *B.* I.

LONDON:
Printed for J. KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; J. HARRISON, under the *Royal Exchange*, and A. DODD, without *Temple-Bar*. 1717.
Price Threepence.

OF

PLOTS.

THE reſtleſs Enemies of our Peace and Religion, leave no Methods unattempted to effect their villanous Deſigns for the Subverſion of Both. It is the profeſs'd Intention of this Paper, to ſerve (as far as it can) the Liberties of Mankind, and in particular of our dear Country; and therefore I think it ſeaſonable to offer ſome Things concerning the preſent Methods in which our Enemies attack them; I mean thoſe *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*, by which they are contriving to deprive us of them.

Where open Force fails of Succeſs, Men of wicked and pernicious Purpoſes betake themſelves to the Shelter of Clouds and Darkneſs; to all the ſtudied Arts of Treachery and Deceit: True to nothing but their Ambition and Luſt of Power, their implacable Revenge, or their furious Superſtition. But by theſe they are carried on to any Methods that may ſerve to gratify their Paſſion; tho' with the Ruin of whole Nations, and the unſpeakable Miſeries of their own Country.

Men of boundleſs Ambition cannot reſt, till they have form'd a Scheme that promiſes them Succeſs; and are continually working to bring others into their Meaſures; Some as united to them by the ſame ambitious Proſpects; Others as Dependants upon them, or brib'd over to their Party.

Implacable Hatred and Ill-will to Perſons in Power, often puts Men upon all Methods to ruin and deſtroy them, tho' with the manifeſt Miſchief of the Community; nay, and ſometimes when they involve themſelves in the Common Ruin: As a great Enemy of King *William* was reported to have ſaid, *He would ruin him if he could, tho' he was ſure to be damn'd for it the next Moment.*

But beſides theſe wicked Paſſions which have occaſioned *Plots* in all Ages, there is another Cauſe that has been at the Bottom of the moſt, and moſt miſchievous *Plots* in our own Country, and Neighbour Nations, for a long Time; that is, a *falſe* and *ſuperſtitious Zeal.* On this the Antichriſtian Polity of *Rome* is founded. A Means has been found out to form a wordly Polity out of a Religion intended to wean Men from the World. *The Pope*, by enſlaving the Conſciences of all that own him for the Head of their Religion, has liſted to himſelf a ſpiritual *Militia*; and hereby has Numbers ready at Hand to undertake any Miſchief he ſhall put them upon: Since they are taught to believe all Things conduce to the Salvation of their Souls, that are done in Obedience to his Commands. This Principle can procure a *Clement*, or *Ravillac*, to take off *Princes*, when they are ſuſpected to ſtand in their Way. This can

engage

engage Men to form unnatural Deſigns of deſtroying the beſt Part of a whole Nation at once by *Gun-powder*, and a great Part of another by an inhumane *Maſſacre*. In fine, it can command and direct all manner of Wickedneſs, for the Deſtruction of any Perſons who ſhall be ſo hardy as to imagine, the *Servant of God's Servants* is not *Emperor* of the World: So that however Ambition and Covetouſneſs may be the Springs of Action, in the principal Promoters of ſuch Conſpiracies, 'tis yet a fierce and falſe Zeal for Religion, by which they are conducted to their Execution. One would have hoped theſe Miſchiefs of Popery had been rectified at our Reformation; but yet our Hiſtory affords too many Inſtances, that the *Popiſh Emiſſaries* have ſtill the Skill and good Luck to dupe thoſe that have even proteſted againſt their Errors and Conduct; to engage them in *Plots* for their own Deſtruction; and make them give the moſt unaccountable Inſtances of a *real* Fanaticiſm, when they are halloow'd by an *Italian* Policy to worry their Brethren under the *Name* of *Fanaticks*.

That this is the main Principle of our *Plots*, in *England* at leaſt, for above this Hundred Years laſt paſt, may appear from the Perſons engaged in them, and the Methods they have uſed to promote them. Theſe have been ſo much one and the ſame, and the Steps taken againſt our Government, as *Proteſtant*, ſo Uniform, that 'tis a Wonder even the Common People do not fully ſee through them, and perceive whence they come, what they aim at, and by what means ſuch Projects are to be executed.

The

The Perſons concern'd in theſe *Plots* have ever been the *Papiſts* out of the Church, and the *High-Flyers*, or Popiſhly-affected within the Church. They have indeed, as under *Plots* of their own, made a Few for the Whigs and Proteſtants. Mrs. *Celier* midwiv'd one into the World out of a *Meal-Tub*; and by another, they got ſuch brave Men as Lord *Ruſſel*, *Algernoon Sidney*, &c. out of the *Way*: for theſe, and ſuch like pretended Proteſtant *Plots*, have plainly appeared upon Examination, and in their Conſequences, the Effects of Popiſh Councils and Tory Deſigns. I joyn the *Papiſts* and *High-Flyers* together, becauſe they have ever been united in the ſame Meaſures; have gone Hand in Hand with each other at every Turn, and have fallen into all the ſame common Methods of deſtroying our Religion and Liberties.

Thus when they found a *Prince*, for Inſtance, inclinable to favour Popery, or any Advances towards it, theſe were the Men who joyntly made court to him; complimented him with unlimited *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; made the *Titles* of ſuch as they had Hopes from, Unalienable and *Indefeaſable*; and their Power ſuperiour to all Law; and every Proviſion to the contrary, tho' it had a *Parliamentary Sanction*, void and inſignificant. The ſame Perſons mutually concurr'd to engage a Party among the *Clergy*, to ſupport theſe Tenets by a *Divine Sanction*, and more effectually ſpread them among the Common People; and the more heartily to engage Them, and at the ſame Time to promote their own Deſigns in view, they concurred to advance Their Power and Authority to equal Extravagancy with that of the Crown;

Crown; that ſo the *Church* and the *King*, or in more modern Phraſe, the Cry of *Church* and *Queen* might on every Occaſion, carry all before them.

But when this Scheme became impracticable, and a Prince was on the Throne that they could not engage in their Deſigns, then they as heartily joyn'd together againſt him: Favour'd as much as they could, the Title of Another: Harangued againſt the Lawfulneſs of taking the Oaths to any but the right Heir; meaning, him whom they ſhould be pleas'd to call ſo. Tho at the ſame Time, the leading Men are to take the Oaths themſelves, with a double Intention; to ſerve their own Intereſt by the Profit of their Places, and by their Power within Doors to hearten and keep alive the Projects of their Aſſociates without.

The ſame Men concurred likewiſe to undermine ſuch a *Government*, by artfully applying to it the Diſtinction between a King *de Facto* and *de Jure*. By which means they continued a Declaration againſt the lawful Right of the Prince in Poſſeſſion; and did the Government as much Miſchief, and in ſome Reſpects more, than if they had abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit, or take the Oaths to it at all.

There is one thing more, and that one of their moſt darling Methods, in which they were heartily united; to raiſe as far as poſſible the Enmity and Hatred of the Church and Nation againſt thoſe, who of Old were called *Puritans*, of late more commonly *Presbyterians*. They have ever been induſtrious to fix all manner of Calumny and Reproach upon them, to render them incapable of ſerving their Country, or having any Power to act againſt

gainſt Them: Well knowing, and upon ſome Occaſions owning, they could not effectually compaſs their Deſigns till theſe Men were removed out of their Way. It was obſerv'd long ſince by the renown'd Sir *Robert Cotton*, until the Eleventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, "a *Recuſant*'s Name was ſcarcely known. "The Reaſon was, becauſe that the Zeal be-"gotten in the Time of the *Marian Perſecution* "was yet freſh in Memory. —— In thoſe Days "there was an Emulation between the Clergy "and the Laity, and a Strife aroſe whether of "them ſhould ſhew themſelves moſt affectio-"nate to the Goſpel ——But when they ſaw "their great *Coryphæus Sanders* had ſlily pinn'd "the Names of *Puritans* on the Sleeves of the "Proteſtants that encountred them with moſt "Courage, and perceiv'd that the Word was "pleaſing to ſome of our own ſide, they "took Heart at Graſs, to ſet little by the Ser-"vice of God and Duty to their Sovereign."

'Tis however obſervable, that many of theſe *Plots* have met with that Fate that is common: For few *Plots* have been wholly ſucceſsful without Diſcovery and Diſappointment in ſome Part or other, the Methods of Diſcovery and Prevention are ſo various and remarkable.

They are often diſcovered by the ordinary Methods of *good Policy*, a skilful Management and Dexterity in Affairs. Wiſe and watchful Governours have quick Eyes as well as long Arms. They can have Intelligence from private Corners, as well as publick Courts: find ways to mingle with all Cabals, and dive in-

* Cotton's *Poſthuma*, p. 148.

to

to the deepeſt Secrets. Thus Queen *Elizabeth*'s wiſe Miniſter, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, got into the grand Secret of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, and procured his Information by an original Letter out of the *Pope*'s own Pocket. It ſeems the King of *Spain*, from an officious Zeal for the *Pope's Bleſſing* on his Undertaking, had, by a Letter writ with his own Hand, acquainted him with the true Intention of his great Preparations: But the induſtrious *Engliſh Miniſter* ſo far turn'd it into a *Curſe*, as to blaſt the whole Contrivance to enſlave us, and reduce the exorbitant Power of that Family, ſo dangerous to the whole Proteſtant Cauſe, and the Liberty of their Neighbours. By the Vigilance of the ſame wiſe Miniſter, in the Reign of *James* I. he procured a Box out of the *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*'s Cloſet, which contain'd all his ſecret Inſtructions. The many good Effects of ſuch private Intelligence in the late War, are reſerv'd for a fuller Hiſtory of thoſe Times.

Nor are *Courage* and *Bravery* in a Government leſs conſiderable to prevent the Effects of *Plots*, than a skilful and vigilant Policy is to detect them. When a Senſe of Liberty and Zeal for True Religion, inſpires a brave People with Spirit and Courage, all the Force of a blind Zeal and ſlaviſh Spirit, has never been able to ſtand againſt it. To omit all remoter Examples, we have a ſufficient Evidence of this, in the ſucceſsful Defence of our Liberties under the glorious King *William*, and the many victorious Years of the late *Queen*.

Sometimes the Conſpirators themſelves are Inſtruments in the Diſcovery of their own *Plots*. The Horror of an inhuman Fact has

terrify'd a *guilty* Mind. The Tenderneſs of human Nature, ſome Leavings of Conſcience and Gratitude, the frightful Senſe of involving innocent Perſons in Ruin, and one's native Country in Blood and Deſolation, have ſometimes given a ſhock to Mens Minds, and rais'd an inward Remorſe. The *Aſſaſſination Plot* in King *William*'s Reign, was diſcover'd by Mr. *Pendergraſs*, who was ſtruck with Horror at the firſt Propoſal of it, and from that Moment, reſolv'd to make the Diſcovery. And a Soldier liſted in the *Pretender*'s Service, was among the firſt Diſcoverers of the late Rebellion.

A Diſcovery and Prevention of *Plots* are often owing to the *weak Conduct* of the *Plotters*, and the wrong Meaſures they enter into. *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy was one of the moſt deſperate ever known in the *Roman* State. A diſguſted Part of the Nobility, many broken Officers, joyned to others of profligate Lives and ruin'd Fortunes, united under a crafty and daring Head, to overturn the Government: But this formidable Conſpiracy came to the Knowledge of the *Conſul Cicero*, by the childiſh Imprudence of *Q. Curius*, one of the *Plotters*, who truſted the Secret to his Miſtreſs *Fulvia*. Envy, Jealouſy, or Treachery, ſometimes make the Conſpirators falſe to the Deſign, or to each other. Men who are wicked enough (from Pique, Ambition, or Hope of Advantage from publick Troubles) to conſpire againſt their native Country and lawful Governors, may well be ſuppoſed falſe enough to their Companions, to betray them for the ſame Reaſons.

And very often theſe ſecret Works of Darkneſs

neſs have been brought to light by ſome Act of a kind *Providence*. A ſmall Incident, an undeſign'd Step, a little Weakneſs or Overſight have been over-rul'd to break a well-concerted Scheme of Miſchief. The Miſcarriage of a Letter and the Miſtake of a Name, are conſiderable Circumſtances in the Hiſtory of the *Powder-Plot*. The open *Plots* againſt the Religion and Liberties of *England* in the Reign of *James* II. was ruin'd by an indiſcreet Haſte, and over-forward Zeal to make it ſure. As a great Man * obſerv'd on this Occaſion, "The very "Counſels and Methods of our Enemies did "propoſe the way for our Deliverance, and per-"haps more effectually than any Counſel or "Contrivance of our own could have done.

In fine, ſuch Deſigns are often confounded, when they have the greateſt likelihood of Succeſs, and are juſt on the Point of execution, by taking off ſome of the *principal Actors*, or moſt powerful Supports. The manner of the *King's Acceſſion* to the Throne, and the ſubſequent Death of the late *French King*, were fatal Blows to the deſperate Deſign of bringing in the *Pretender*, and the Rebellion which was rais'd to promote it.

One would wonder ſo many Methods of Diſappointment and Diſcovery, ſhould not cure Men of their Inclination and Fondneſs for *Plotting*. One would think, the *Plotters* among our ſelves in particular, ſhould ſet themſelves about concerting new Meaſures with a very dead Heart, when they conſider how often, and in what variety of Ways, their former Schemes have been diſcover'd and render'd Abortive:

* *Archbiſhop* Tillotſon.

When ſo frequently either the Careleſneſs and Treachery of Friends, or the Vigilance and Penetration of Enemies have ſpoil'd the whole Project. How can they perſuade themſelves they ſhall ſucceed better with the next, than they did with their laſt Contrivance? Why, we ſee our former Error, how we miſtook the laſt Time; ſuch an Overſight was the Occaſion of our Miſcarriage; but we will take care to avoid every thing of a like kind for the future, and then we may promiſe our ſelves Succeſs.

But ſure they conſider not at the ſame time, that every new Attempt, and the Diſcovery of it, muſt make them againſt whom they *Plot*, more upon their Guard; more thoroughly apprize them whence their Danger comes, and how it may be moſt effectually prevented: That every Diſappointment will take away ſome Friends; make others leſs able or leſs ready to aſſiſt them; more backward and cool in their Intereſts, at leaſt in hazarding themſelves and their Fortunes together with them. 'Tis, beſides, great odds, but when they employ a double *Care to ſecure one* Point, they leave ſome *other* Parts of their Project more unguarded than they were before.

Indeed there is ſomething in the very Deſigns theſe Men aim at, that ſhould forebode a Diſappointment. To reduce theſe Nations to *Popery* and *Slavery* is, after all, a bold Undertaking: Men may flatter themſelves with the Madneſs of the common People, and the Pains which have been taken to reconcile them gradually, to both thoſe Evils, which it muſt be allow'd have been very great; yet whenever the miſchievous and fatal Conſequences of ſuch

Deſigns

Deſigns ſhall come to be ſeen and felt, They who now reckon themſelves ſure of their preſent deluded Followers, may find themſelves miſtaken in them to their Coſt. 'Tis true, we are ſhort-ſighted enough, and do not often diſcover Danger at a great Diſtance. The *Engliſh*, whether from native Honeſty or Courage, are not prone to Jealouſy and Suſpicion. Yet the hideous and monſtrous Appearance a near approach of *Popery* and *Slavery* would make, will be apt to ſtartle an *Engliſhman* himſelf: And what they are like to do in ſuch a Juncture, we may reaſonably gueſs from what they bravely did at the *Revolution*. And even ſuch of Them, to put the worſt, as cannot *ſee* at all, may have ſome *feeling* left; as theſe ſame *Plotters* have e'er now found. As fond as ſome of our Gentry appear of the Company and Politicks of theſe Leaders, ſurely they retain ſome little Love for Themſelves, and will hardly be willing to part with one half of their Eſtates to them. Whenever it comes to this, I cannot think but they would rather ſubmit to the Inconvenience of a Proteſtant Prince, and the Proteſtant Religion, than purchaſe Popery and a Popiſh Pretender (as much their Darlings as they are) at the *Price* of all their *Church Lands*.

What then, may it be ſaid, can yet induce Men to engage anew in ſuch miſchievous Deſigns, when it is upon ſo many Accounts highly improbable they ſhould ever ſucceed? We find that in ſpight of all Diſcouragement, no ſooner is one Deſign detected and prevented, but another is ſet on Foot. The Diſcovery of one Plot only turns them out of the Way they were

were then in; but they immediately ſtep into another, by which they hope to arrive at their propos'd End.

Some have from hence taken Occaſion to diſcredit the Advantages of *Liberty*, and the happy State of a *free People*: As if *Plots* and ſeditious Contrivances againſt the Peace of a Nation, and Authority of a Government, were Evils naturally ariſing from Freedom and Liberty; and that they are abundantly more frequent among a Free People, than among thoſe that live under Abſolute and Arbitrary Power.

But whoever conſiders the Hiſtory of our Own or other Nations, will find this is falſe in Fact, and ſo a Scandal on Liberty: That moſt *Plots*, and the Diſturbances occaſion'd by them, have had their Spring and Original from Men of Arbitrary Deſigns, and who were contriving the Slavery of their Country. It is certain, the generous Principles of Liberty have been often exerted on ſuch Occaſions: but 'tis as certain, they have not been exerted in *Plotting* againſt others ſo much as in a neceſſary Self-Defence, and to prevent the Effect of *Plots* form'd againſt themſelves. Whence aroſe the Tumults and Diſorders of the *Roman* State in the Times of *Sylla*, *Cataline*, *Cæſar*, &c.? Did they ſpring from the Principles of *Roman* Liberty, or *their* Ambition and Tyranny? It was when *Cæſar* had trampled on the Rights of *Rome*, and was upon the Point of extinguiſhing their Liberties for ever; that a Zeal for Freedom dictated that Paper to be fix'd on the Statue of *Brutus*, *Utinam viveres*. 'Tis true, when Men have been inur'd to a *Turkiſh* or *Swediſh* Slavery,

Slavery, they may in Time become Slaves in the Temper of their Minds, as much as in the Circumſtances of their Condition; and ſo grow Tame in the moſt abject and miſerable State: But he muſt ſure be a Madman, or worſe, one that hopes to ſhare in the Spoils of his ruin'd Country, who can think ſuch a Miſery more to be deſired, than the worſt Inconveniences that can attend a Struggle for Liberty, and therein for all that is dear and valuable to Men.

It may however be one poſſible Encouragement to ill-deſigning Men, under a free Government, that they may hope more eaſily to *eſcape* their deſerved *Puniſhment*, by the Benefit of ſuch Forms and Methods of Conviction, which are ſettled as a Barrier to the Liberties of the Subject: Yet, in truth, it is commonly ſeen, that the Affections of a People to a good Government, and the Senſe of Common Intereſt to preſerve it from Danger and Inſult, is a Security as effectual, as if the Prince had an Arbitrary Power to do himſelf Right: And tho' a People may be blinded for a Seaſon, ſo as not to perceive the ill Intentions and Practices of ſuch Malecontents; perhaps be ſo far deluded, as to favour them; yet a general Infatuation ſeldom laſts very long under a good and ſteady Adminiſtration: And when once they come to have their Eyes opened, 'tis not uncommon to reſent the Injury done Themſelves by being impos'd upon, as well as the Injury intended to their Prince and Country. But leaſt of all can the *Plots* of *our Times* be aſſign'd to ſuch a Cauſe, as the Liberty of a free People. The Men concern'd in them,

them, and the Ends they propoſe and aim at by them, are irreconcileable to all Liberty whatſoever, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. Theſe Perſons and Deſigns are avowed and ſworn Enemies to both. They muſt certainly then be kept alive by other Encouragements, and proceed from other Principles.

If we look back to the State of this Nation, ever ſince the *Reformation*, we ſhall find the *Papiſts* have been kept in Heart, and in ſome Hopes of ſeeing Popery reſtor'd again, upon many Accounts; and to theſe Encouragements, with the Uſe they have made of them, I think we may principally aſcribe their bold Perſeverance in plotting with their Aſſociates both at Home and Abroad againſt us. For Inſtance,

In many Reigns of our Princes, ſince that Time, They have been heartned either by a Popiſh Pretender to the Crown, or with the Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſion. Good King *Edward* did not outlive his Minority; and it appear'd They were not miſtaken in their Expectations from his Succeſſor Queen *Mary*. Queen *Elizabeth* had innumerable *Plots* againſt her Perſon and Government, of which *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was the Life and Soul, both as a Pretender to the Crown, during her Life, and as the Next to her in Lineal Succeſſion. King *Charles* II. beſides his own perſonal Favours to the Papiſts, had his Brother a Papiſt for his Succeſſor; and the Glorious King *William* had the ſame Perſon (with all his Friends) as an abdicated King, to contend with during his Reign.

Theſe

Theſe Circumſtances were encouraging enough, to make that Party active and ſtirring, and keep their Cauſe and Endeavours to promote it ſo long alive and vigorous among us. In many Reigns alſo, They found our Princes Themſelves, tho' Heads of a Proteſtant Church, too well inclin'd not only tolerate, but to favour Them. There were but two Reigns ſince the Reformation, in which they have not had the forementionʼd Encouragements, either of a Popiſh Pretender, or a Popiſh Succeſſor; I mean the Reigns of *James* I. and *Charles* I. Yet in both theſe Reigns They had the Succeſs, by ſeveral Methods, to gain a great Intereſt in the Government it ſelf; ſo far as to obtain Money, and ſome even illegal Favours from thoſe Princes. What Conceſſions to their Intereſt did They obtain from King *James*, in hopes of the *Spaniſh* Match? And what ſubſtantial Encouragement had They from the Match that afterwards ſucceeded with a *French* Papiſt? The firſt *Parliament* of King *Charles*'s Reign was opened *June* 18, 1625, (which by the way was many Years before 1640) They, in a Petition to the King, thus repreſent their Senſe, both of the Danger from theſe Men, and the Cauſes of it, which is very full to my preſent Purpoſe.

* "The Dangers from the Papiſts (They ſay) "appear in their deſperate Deſigns, being both "the Subverſion of the Church and State; "and the Reſtleſneſs of thoſe Spirits to attain

* Ruſhworth's *Collections*, Part 1. p. 181.

" theſe Ends; the Doctrines of their Teachers " and Leaders perſwading Them, that there- " in they do God good Service.

" Their evident and ſtrict Dependency up- " on ſuch Foreign Princes, as no Way affect " the Good of your Majeſty or this State.

" The principal Cauſes of theſe Dangers " (They ſay, among other Things) is,

" The Want of the due Execution of the " Laws againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and " Popiſh Recuſants, occaſioned partly by the " Connivancy of the State, partly by Defects " in the Laws themſelves, and partly by the " manifeſt Abuſe of Officers.

" The Interpoſing of Foreign Princes by their " Embaſſadors and Agents in favour of Them.

" The Employment of Men ill-affected in " Religion, in Places of Government, who do, " ſhall, or may countenance the Popiſh Party.

Beſides theſe Advantages, the Party I am ſpeaking of uſually had one more; that to many Purpoſes was full out as uſeful to Them, as any of the Former; that is, to find the Superſtition of the Common People, and the Weakneſs or Ambition of ſome of the Clergy, ready not only to receive, but to defend and propagate their Principles: So that they were not without Hopes *Popery* might return, under the Protection of what were ſaid to be the Principles of the *Church* of *England*. When They had artfully expoſed to Contempt ſuch Proteſtants as wiſh'd a farther Reformation, They ſoon found a Party who were willing to declare with them, we had reformed a good deal too far. And warmly eſpous'd ſuch a Church

Church Power, and Independency of Government, as was not only contrary to the Opinion of all our Reformers, but to the whole Conſtitution of the Church, as by Law eſtabliſh'd.

No Wonder the Papiſts ſhould be encourag'd to perſiſt in an Endeavour to reſtore their Superſtition, when They ſaw many in the Church it ſelf, and of no mean Rank and Figure, heartily for a *Laudean* Reformation of the Church of *England* back to Popery, and as hearty againſt the *Cranmerean Deformation* of the Church, as ſome of Them ſpightfully term'd our legal Conſtitution.

Such were, in former Times, the Supports of theſe Men; who have been in a perpetual *Plot* againſt us to this Day. But on the other Side, for the Encouragement of all ſincere Proteſtants, who love the Peace and Welfare of their Prince and Country, we may hope They will now daily decreaſe. Many of them are already provided againſt. We have now all the Security that Law can give againſt the Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor: And all Reaſon to believe from the Title and plain Intereſt of our preſent Prince and his Iſſue, that this Party ſhall never again take Heart, thro' any Connivance or illegal Support and Countenance from the Throne. 'Tis true, we have a diſcontented Party of theſe People among us; reſolv'd in their Deſigns, one would think, even to Madneſs; yet They have open'd one Thing to us, by their late Meaſures, that we may take for a good Omen, That They ſee it neceſſary Themſelves to change their Methods of practiſing upon us. The Prince it ſeems

They find is not to be impoſed upon, and drawn into their Meaſures, by any of their Artificial Management; nor can they hearten Themſelves now in the Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſion, unleſs They can make one for Themſelves by a Rebellion or an Invaſion. This They ſeem ſenſible of, when They make their Application for Help and Succour to the hare-brain'd *Knight-Errant of the North.* What a Man of his fierce, revengeful and implacable Spirit may attempt for Them, is uncertain: But whatever They may expect from his Fury, or the Madneſs of ſome among our ſelves, we have Reaſon to believe, tho it give us ſome Diſturbance for a Time, it may end in Ruin to Them and their Cauſe. On our Side, we have the Protection of a Prince, wiſe and vigilant, reſolved and ſteady, of experienced Conduct and Courage, and in Poſſeſſion of all the Legal Power of the Nation. And how much ſoever his Enemies may flatter Themſelves, in the Diſaffection of ſome to his Perſon, Family, and Government, he has undoubtedly the Hearts and real Affections of very many, as well as their Oaths and Aſſurances of Fidelity; and of many too, who can ſay upon the nobleſt Principles, from a Love to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country,

Dulce & Decorum eſt pro Patria mori.

And what may not be expected from an hearty Affection to a good Cauſe, and under the Conduct of a wiſe and ſteady Management, and for which the Divine Providence has often

ten appeared in many Inſtances, exceedingly remarkable?

Upon the whole, there ſeems to be but one Thing wanting to ſecure our preſent Happineſs and future Peace, from all the Deſigns of our Enemies: That is, the Uſe we ought to make of theſe continu'd Rebellions and *Plots* againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and more eſpecially the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the preſent Royal Family.

Plots when diſcovered and prevented, as many of theſe have been, uſually bring two Advantages to the Perſons againſt whom they are form'd: Hereby the Way is diſcover'd by which the Enemy hope to hurt Them, and they are led to obſerve their own weak ſide, whatever it is, either in Conſtitution or Adminiſtration; and this affords them the ſureſt Advice, how to weaken the Hands of their Enemies, and ſtrengthen their own.

Fas eſt & ab Hoſte doceri.

Every State (ſays a noted Politician) is beſt maintain'd by the ſame Principles on which it was founded; and for the ſame Reaſon is beſt attack'd by ſuch Doctrines and Principles as ſap and unſettle that Foundation. When it appears what are the Seeds and the Principles of of our Rebellions, what ſhall excuſe Us if we do not purſue the Advantages of ſuch a Diſcovery? Set a Mark on the Principles that lead to Rebellion; and endeavour to root out thoſe poiſonous Seeds, which, while they remain, will at every Turn, ſhoot out a freſh in new Deſigns againſt us? It is a very plain Queſtion,

Queſtion, which has a very eaſy Anſwer, "Was the preſent Eſtabliſhment founded on "the Principles uſually, and with great Solem-"nity, taught in many Parts of the Nation, "on the 30th of *January?* That is, on Principles that were ever falſe, but are now Treaſon in their direct Conſequences; and are often deliver'd in ſuch Terms, as do not only incline, but incite and provoke poor People to rebel. Is it the beſt Foundation of a Government to teach People, that, in obeying it, they ſubmit to a ſucceſsful Rebellion or Uſurpation, which it may be lawful for them to do, when it is in Fact the ſupream Government? Or does not this ſerve to make a Prince ſit on his Throne in a very precarious manner, when his Subjects are taught not to own his Seat there, as of Right, as a Thing they can ſtand by before God and Man, from the bottom of their Souls?

Another Advantage which uſually a Government has by the Diſcovery of *Plots* againſt it is, to know what ſort of Men they can never ſafely confide in: Such on whom the *Plotters* chiefly rely, They who are apparently united with them in all their common Meaſures, are not, in common Prudence, to be truſted far? And ſure ſuch Men ſhould never have it again in their Power to hurt Us, who have always ſhewn their Inclination to uſe whatever Power they have had, either to betray or obſtruct the Counſels, or elſe to thwart the Meaſures and clog the Wheels of the Government: In particular, our late Rebellion ſhould adviſe us of one Caution, not to depend very much on ſuch wonderful Securities, as *Oaths* and *Sacraments*;

ments; Ties to Few but ſuch as will be Honeſt without them. Thanks to the Caſuiſtical Skill of this Age, Men have now learn'd the Secret, how they may ſolemnly ſay any deceitful *Untruth* without telling a *Lye*, and ſwear any thing *falſly*, without being *foreſworn*: but 'tis to be hop'd even this Evil may produce one Convenience, and ſhew our Government there is a much better Teſt of Men; and that is, their known and try'd Characters, Principles, and Practices. We ſhall hardly make a right uſe of diſcover'd *Plots* and ſuppreſs'd Rebellions, or well provide againſt them for the Time to come, unleſs we learn this from them; "To diſtinguiſh ſuch as with Courage and "Zeal, have at all Times ſtood for the Go"vernment, and reſolve to live and die by "the Proteſtant Settlement, as uſeful Friends, "and Perſons much better deſerving Encou"ragement and Truſt, than ſuch as remain'd "Neuter to ſee which ſide would prevail; or "than ſuch who under all the Ties of Oaths "and Sacraments for their Fidelity, us'd all their "Power for the Aſſiſtance of our Enemies, and "to give Encouragement to their Deſigns a"gainſt Us. In a word, after ſo great Advantage given, we ſhall be deſpis'd for our want of Skill to improve it, unleſs we learn this Leſſon from the firm Union of our Enemies among themſelves; "To unite all thoſe in a "mutual Confidence of each other, that are "hearty Friends to the Proteſtant Religion; and to put 'em into a Capacity to promote joyntly the perpetual Security of it. The good Lord *Ruſſel* recommended this plain and obvious Policy long ſince, with his dying Words; when

when that Noble Perſon fell a Victim to Popiſh Reſentment, and dy'd a glorious Martyr to the Religion and Liberties of his Country. " * I wiſh with all my Heart (ſays he) all our " unhappy Differences were removed, and " that all ſincere Proteſtants would ſo far con- " ſider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aſide " theſe Heats, and agree againſt the Common " Enemy.

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* *Lord* Ruſſel's *Paper, deliver'd to the Sheriffs.*

FINIS.

THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. IV.

OF REMOVING THE INCAPACITIES OF *Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

We are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the Remnants of the worſt Part of Popery that we had retained, I mean the Spirit of Perſecution. If this gives Uneaſineſs to any, it ſhews that their *Eye is* Evil, *becauſe the Eye of our* Legiſlators *is* good *toward Thoſe, who tho' they may be miſtaken in their Notions, yet have ſtill the Rights of Men and of Chriſtians.*

Burnet's *Tracts, Vol.* II. Exhortation *to* Peace.

LONDON:

Printed for J. KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; J. HARRISON, under the *Royal Exchange*, and A. DODD, without *Temple-Bar*. 1717.

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THE

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VOLUME NUMBER IV.

ON

REMOVING

THE

INCAPACITIES

OF

Protestant Dissenters.



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Of Removing the

INCAPACITIES OF *Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

IT can be no ſurprize to the World, for the Author of a Paper, writ with an avowed Deſign to ſerve the Intereſt of Truth, Liberty and Catholick Chriſtianity, to ſpeak out his Senſe upon the Grand Matter of preſent Debate, and frankly declare for removing the Incapacities of Diſſenters, of which there have been ſo many, and juſt Complaints

I do not expect ſuch Reſignation in my Readers, as to come into my Sentiments without Conviction; I have therefore thrown together ſome Conſiderations which make it evident to my ſelf, and if I am not deceived will perſwade others, that, as theſe Hardſhips were brought on without being deſerved, ſo there are many Reaſons why they ſhould now be removed, and not one ſound Reaſon againſt it.

Thoſe Acts which have made the Diſſenters uncapable of Civil Offices, were either

framed with quite different Purpoſes at firſt, and perverted when thus applied; or elſe had certainly worſe Deſigns at Bottom, for which this Incapacity was to clear the way.

The *Teſt Act* was the Contrivance of the Famous Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was no Enemy to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and a Zealous Friend to the Liberties of his Country. The Deſign of it, as appears from the Title and Contents, was to Secure the Proteſtant Religion, by excluding *Roman Catholicks* from Places of Truſt, who were creeping into Power through the Connivance of the Court and the Contrivance and Favour of a Popiſh Heir. It was not intended to affect Proteſtant Diſſenters; who were declared to be Friends to their Country, and the Proteſtant Religion; were known to Communicate with the Eſtabliſhed Church before that Act was framed; and are never mentioned in it. But the Papiſts, by the Influence they had at Court, found a way to turn it againſt its firſt Deſign, and make it ſerve Purpoſes contrary to thoſe of its firſt Contrivers; that is, to weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt, by dividing Proteſtants among themſelves.

Two Paſſages relating to this Matter, will give ſtrength to what I have ſaid. In the Year 1687, King *James* the IId. finding the Teſt Act ſtand in his way, and ſhut his Friends the Papiſts out of Employments, endeavours to procure a Repeal; and, as a Conſiderable Step to it, to gain the Conſent of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* the next Heir. They, in anſwer to the King's Letter, profeſs a willingneſs that the Papiſts enjoy their Religion as in *Holland*, but could not conſent

to their Admiſſion to Places, or think it conſiſtent with the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion.

But that their Highneſſes had different Sentiments of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, is obvious from this other Paſſage: In the Year 1689, King *William* recommends it to the Parliament, to leave room for the *Admiſſion of all Proteſtants* to ſerve him, which would tend to the better Uniting them among themſelves, and Strengthening them againſt the common Enemy. Such an Act was accordingly brought in, to Qualify Proteſtant Subjects for Civil Offices, either without receiving the Sacrament, or upon receiving it in their own Congregations. This being rejected, ſeveral Lords entered their Proteſt, with ſome of the cleareſt and moſt convincing Reaſons, one ſhall eaſily meet with.

This plainly ſhews the Diſſenters were not within the Intention of the Act, according to the Scheme of thoſe by whom it was firſt projected; and that in the Opinion of our beſt Princes and Patriots the Edge of it ſhould not be turned againſt them.

The *Occaſional Bill* was thrice puſhed in the Reign of the late Queen, without Effect. It was brought in under pretence of farther Security to the Eſtabliſhed Church, in the firſt Year of her Reign 1702. by Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Anneſley*. The Prince was drawn in to give his Vote for it by the Settlement of a 100000 *l.* a Year, during his Life, after the Queen's Demiſe. It paſſed the Houſe of Commons, but was clogged by the Majority of the Biſhops in the other Houſe; and after a celebrated Debate be-

tween

tween ſome Principals of each Houſe, was drop'd for that Time. In the Year 1703, the Queen opens the Seſſion of Parliament with an Exhortation *to avoid Heats and Diviſions, as giving Advantage to the common Enemies of Church and State*: Yet the zealous Men revive the Bill; leave out the Preamble againſt Perſecution, which was in the former; and any mention of the Act of Indulgence, which ought to be inviolably obſerved; and with a ſtrange Gloſs upon the Teſt Act, and ſome Alteration of the Penalty, it paſſed the Houſe of Commons again; but at the ſecond Reading was rejected by the Lords.

One would think the Miſcarriage of this Bill a ſecond Time, ſhould have diſcouraged any freſh Attempt: But they are ſo ſet upon it, that in 1704, even after the Queen had told them, *ſhe hoped there would be no Contention among them; but who ſhould moſt promote the Publick Good*, it was again brought in and read a firſt and ſecond Time. On which laſt Occaſion the Partiſans for the Bill in the Houſe of Commons, finding the ſtrenuous Oppoſition made to it among themſelves, and therefore deſpairing to carry it through the Lords in the ordinary Courſe, moved to have it tacked to the Money-Bill; which was a bold Attempt on the Negative of the Prince and Houſe of Lords; and had the Vote been carried, would have forced the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and prevented all the Preparations for the War that Year. So that the State was like to have been ruined by this Bill for the Church's Security: Which made the Queen tell that Parliament at their riſing, of their *Eſcaping the fatal Effects of unreaſona-*

ble

ble Humour and Animoſity, and warn them againſt *any dangerous Experiments for the future.*

Yet in the ſame Seſſions this Party got the ſingle Bill paſſed in the Commons Houſe without a Tack; but upon the firſt reading, it was rejected by a great Majority in the Houſe of Lords.

Thus the Matter reſted for ſome Years, the moſt glorious Part of the Queen's Reign. But in 1711, after the Miniſtry was chang'd, and every thing began to take a new Turn, the ſame Bill for Subſtance was again brought upon the Stage, and after ſo long a Struggle and vigorous Oppoſition, paſſed the Lords in a critical Juncture, in hopes of gaining ſome zealous Churchmen to the common Intereſt. When all ſeemed at Stake, a Part was given up to prevent the Deſtruction of the Whole, and the Diſſenters ſacrificed to a miſtaken Point of Policy.

The *Schiſm Bill* was brought into the Commons Houſe by Sir *William Windham*, and promoted with Zeal in the Houſe of Lords by the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, then Secretary of State, in the laſt Year of the Queen's Reign: With what Views, their Conduct ſince ſufficiently explains. It was paſſed with uncommon Vigour and Diſpatch, againſt the briskeſt Oppoſition ever made by the whole Body of Diſſenters. This was to prepare the Way for another Bill, which was to have been an home Thruſt, and diſfranchiſe them at once; it having been offered in one Houſe, that the Schiſm ſhould be drop'd, provided Diſſenters might be uncapable of Voting in the Choice of a Parliament. And I believe none, who conſider the Agents for this Bill with-

within Doors, or the Talkers for it without, will think this kind Offer was made for the Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, or the Diſſervice of the Pretender. But a remarkable Providence ſtopt them ſhort in their Deſigns, before they could be ripe for Execution.

So that if we judge of theſe Bills by their Birth and Original, or their plain Tendency and Deſign, they were either never intended to hurt or diſable any Proteſtant Subjects and Friends to the Conſtitution; or elſe under a a ſham Pretence of ſecuring the Church, were really deſigned to ſerve the Intereſt of the Pretender, and to keep his preſent Majeſty out of his Throne, or make him a Property to thoſe that call'd themſelves the *Church Party*. The Zeal of the Diſſenters for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and their Firmneſs to the Settlement, drew the Hatred of ſome who were no Friends to either, and brought upon them their lateſt and moſt heavy Grievances. And now when his Majeſty is on the Throne there is no Abatement of this Zeal and Firmneſs, I own it looks not a little unreaſonable to me, for them to be left ſtill bound and oppreſſed.

But their Conduct under their ill Treatment and Oppreſſion ſpeaks ſtill more loudly in their Favour. Any People in the World would make a Merit of ſuch a ſteddy Regard to the Publick Good. It would be no hard Matter to produce many generous Inſtances of their Self-Denial and Neglect of their private Intereſts and Honours, when there was Appearance of their Country's receiving Advantage by it: Or to ſhow, that when they have made a ſtrenuous Oppoſition to Meaſures formed for

for their Hurt, they have acted more with a Concern for the Publick Intereſts than their own. Nay, when their Fetters were put on, their Conduct was manifeſtly govern'd by a Publick Spirit.

The generous Self-denial of Alderman *Love*, then a Member of Parliament for this City, upon K. *Charles* II's Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, in 1672, muſt never be forgotten by the Enemies of a diſpenſing Power. He was one of the firſt and warmeſt in remonſtrating againſt it in the Houſe of Commons, tho he was a known Diſſenter, out of pure Regard to the Authority of the Laws, and his Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt.

When the *Teſt Act* was made in the ſame Reign, and thought by ſome great Patriots a neceſſary Bulwark againſt Popery, it is well known how patiently they acquieſced, tho they did not want Sagacity to know, the People then in Power would make them chiefly feel the Edge of it.

The many Vexations they felt from that and other Penal Laws in the remainder of that Reign, might have been expected to prepare them to come as one Man into any Meaſures for eaſing them of their Burdens. But tho they were cloſeted, and courted, and menaced, to bring them into the Deſigns of the Court in King *James*'s Time for repealing theſe Laws, the Main Body of them were inflexible. They foreſaw what uſe that Popiſh Court would make of their Compliance; and their own Eaſe was of no Conſideration with them, when laid in the Balance with the Danger of the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of their Country.

The Diſſenters in *Ireland* have copied after the Pattern ſet them by their Brethren here. When the Heads of an excellent Bill againſt the Popiſh Intereſt in that Kingdom, were in the laſt Reign tranſmitted from their Parliament to the *Engliſh* Court for Approbation in the uſual Form, the Impoſition of the Teſt was clapped in as a Rider, by the Art and Intereſt of a bigotted S——y and High Church Attorney. How the Commons of that Kingdom reſented this Uſage upon the return of the Bill, is well remember'd there. But the Diſſenters in the Houſe generouſly declared they had rather bear that Impoſition upon themſelves, till a favourable Juncture ſhould offer for reuniting the Proteſtant Intereſt, than loſe a Bill ſo neceſſary for weakening the Popiſh.

It is true, the *Engliſh* Diſſenters ſtruggled with all their Might againſt the *Occaſional Bill* when firſt ſet a-foot here, not merely upon Selfiſh Views, but out of invariable Regard to their Country. The noble Patriots among the Lords who managed upon that Occaſion, took care to let the World know that they were as ſenſible as the Diſſenters themſelves, what a Blow it would be at the Root of the Revolution Intereſt. And whether the Event has not confirmed thoſe Apprehenſions ſince it paſſed into a Law, both the Enemies and Friends of that Intereſt are able to judge.

However, when the Bill was more lately reviv'd againſt them, and brought in by the Friends of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, over all their own invincible Reaſons, on the Hope gaining a Man to that Intereſt who was ſuppos'd capable of ſilencing the Cry of the Church

Church againſt it; perhaps a greater Inſtance of Reſignation and Self-Denial never was, than what the Diſſenters ſhewed on that Occaſion. They thought it unkind to be made a Sacrifice to the Humour of a doubtful new Convert, nor were they without Apprehenſions that the Friends of the Succeſſion would find him but a Single Ten, if not catch a Tartar in him, yet after all they ſat down in Silence: Nor would they ſuffer themſelves to be influenced by the aggravating Repreſentations of this Uſage, made to ſome of them by the prime Miniſter; nor be perſuaded to abandon the Whigs in any future Elections or common Danger; or take one Step out of Chagrine, that might be diſſerviceable to the Succeſſion. Several of them indeed who were ſatisfied in the Lawfulneſs of Occaſional Conformity, could not totally abandon that Way of Worſhip which they thought moſt eligible, and therefore reſigned their Offices. Others who were in Stations of greateſt Conſequence, and earneſtly preſſed by the principal Friends of the Succeſſion, not to quit their Poſts and give up all into the Enemies Hands, were content to deny themſelves for a Seaſon, in Hopes they might ſecure the common Intereſt: And to this Day continue to ſhew their Regard to the Publick in the greateſt Inſtances of Self-denial.

The *Schiſm Bill*, to which they made ſuch vigorous Oppoſition, may at firſt View ſeem to concern themſelves only, and that the Publick was not ſo deeply intereſted in it: but if the Readers will remember what has been ſaid of that Matter before, that it was the known Intention of it to prepare the Way for

a Bill that would have been miſchievous to the Publick to the laſt Degree, they will eaſily ſee, that the Diſſenters, in the Oppoſition they made to it, were ſtruggling for their Country, and not meerly for themſelves, and were therefore influenced by much nobler Views than a narrow Regard to their own Party.

What their Conduct hath been ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion, needs not be told. They have acted up to their Character. And their Sovereign has done them the Honour to declare to the World, that *he is fully convinced of the Loyalty and Zeal of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

And have theſe Men deſerv'd the Incapacities and Shackles put upon them? And if they have not merited ſuch hard Uſage, muſt they ſuffer under a juſt Adminiſtration, without any Demerit? And has *Britain* no Claim to the Service of Men of ſuch a Spirit? not the Sovereign of *Britain?* If they have ſhewn ſuch ſacred Regards to the common Intereſts under Perſecution, Diſcouragement and unmerited Reſtraint, would they ſhew no Zeal for them, if they were put into a Capacity to exert themſelves to their utmoſt?

But it is obvious to all Men who think juſtly, and will be taught by Experience, that theſe Incapacitating Bills have done real Miſchief to us, as well as depriv'd their Country of the Service of Diſſenters. The Teſt Act was of all thoſe which grieve them, the moſt ſincerely intended to weaken the Popiſh and ſecure the Proteſtant Intereſt among us, and yet it hath had the quite contrary Effects, and Papiſts obſerve them with Pleaſure.

This has put it into Peoples Heads to regard

gard the Church of *England* as ſomething very different not only from Diſſenters at home, but all other Communions throughout the the Proteſtant World.

This hath raiſed, and very much increaſed, the Prejudices of our Countrymen againſt Foreigners though Proteſtants, and led them to hate and deſpiſe them as belonging to Churches much leſs ſacred and venerable than their own.

This hath made them ſo angry againſt all Projects for a Naturalization.

This hath made them averſe to, and uneaſy under the Happy Settlement of our Crown firſt on King *William*, and ſince on King *George*. The one was deſpiſed as a *Calviniſt*, the other is daily inſulted as a *Lutheran*, and ſo unfit to Reign over us, or be the Head of the Church of *England*, a Church by her ſelf, that hath nothing to do with *Augsburg*, *Geneva* or *Rome*.

This has reconciled them to ſee their Fellow Subjects ill uſed in numberleſs Inſtances, if by ſubmiting to this Teſt they can't approve themſelves good Churchmen.

And then it is no wonder if it hath helped to inflame the Heats among *Engliſh* Proteſtants, to an Heighth pleaſing to Papiſts, and prejudicial and dangerous to the Nation.

This hath tempted many to conform againſt Conſcience, either for Profit or Capacity of doing Service in a Place. And Men by making free with their Conſciences in one Caſe, are diſpoſed to do it in another, and prepared by degrees for every kind of Fraud, and Perjury it ſelf. What Profligate Wretches, very Peſts to the Nation and the World, have

have ſome Men amongſt us become from theſe Beginnings?

And it hath had a much worſe Effect ſtill, by forcing Men of no Morals or Conſcience, to ſtarve for want of Common Bread, or to profane what is Holy.

It hath been own'd by the Legiſlature, that it hath been a grand Occaſion of Hypocriſy, and to prevent this Evil, was one of the kind Pretences for bringing in the *Occaſional Bill.*

But whatever was the Deſign, the Effects of it are plainly Prejudical to his Majeſty's and the Nation's Intereſts. Certain it is, that many Corporations in the Kingdom were, by that Act, put into Hands that are either actually Diſaffected to the Succeſſion, or Raw Youths and Indigent Perſons, little above the Condition of Beggars. And in many Corporations in *England* where Vacancies are to be filled up, the Choice muſt fall upon ſuch Perſons of Neceſſity, if Diſſenters are Excluded. How vaſt a Difficulty is it to Chuſe a Common Council of Subſtantial Citizens, Hearty in the Intereſt of the Government, even in *London*, ſince that Bill took Place? And had not Sir *T*— *A*—— and Sir *J*— *F*——— been willing to labour under the Inconveniences of a Private Worſhip for a Time, to ſerve the Government, the Court of Aldermen had much ſuffered by it too. Had thoſe Gentlemen laid down their Gowns, there is Reaſon to believe others might have done the ſame, not as Diſſenters, but as deſpairing after that, to ſerve their City and their Country as they deſired to do.

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In how many Counties in *England* are Juſtices wanting to keep the Peace? When Men in ſuch Poſts ſhall countenance Riots inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, and encourage Inſults on the Government, will not this ſpread Diſloyalty inſtead of curing it? And hath not this been the Caſe in many Places of *England* of late, for want of more fit Perſons to intruſt with this Commiſſion?

And is it not evident to every one, that Elections for Parliament in Counties, and eſpecially in Cities and Corporations, depend much on the good Diſpoſitions of thoſe in Power? And doth not the want of ſuch well affected Perſons, render the Choice of a good Parliament extreamly Difficult or Expenſive? Thanks be to GOD, we have one now in being, that is entirely in the Intereſts of our King and our County; but is not the Septennial Bill that was paſs'd laſt Seſſion, a Confeſſion of this Truth? And hath not this Difficulty increaſed ſince the *Occaſional Bill*? Was it not originally form'd upon that View?

Beſides, the Govetnment is not only deprived of the Service of Diſſenters in Places of Power, but whilſt they remain under this Incapacity, it loſes much of the Service they might do in a private Station. For being mark'd out by the diſqualifying Acts as unfit to be truſted with Publick Offices; this is in Effect, to make them infamous: and all Friendſhip for them, or Reſpect from them, will bring in others for a Share in this Infamy. This hath converted Biſhops into *Preſbyterians*; and made Miniſters of State, that are as far from being Diſſenters as Dr. *Sacheverel* himſelf, yet paſs for Falſe Brethren, and be hated

hated as ſuch. If by the Voice of Publick Laws, and the Inſinuations of their cunning Leaders, the Multitude are taught to believe that all Diſſenters are unfit to ſerve the Government; it is eaſy for the Enemies of it to put it into their Heads, that all for whom Diſſenters appear, and whoſe Intereſts they ſerve, are Men of dangerous Principles. And how often, and how earneſtly have the heartieſt Friends of the Government, nay and of the Church it ſelf, under this Influence, been reproached and oppoſed? So that by this Means, the whole Intereſt of Diſſenters is in a great Meaſure loſt to the Government, and the Reputation of many others diminiſhed, and their Intereſt weaken'd, who are the heartieſt Friends to Church and State.

And is not the Intereſt of the Nation and that of Proteſtants in general, much leſſen'd, by keeping up Diviſions and Quarrels? And is not this the immediate and direct Effect of theſe diſqualifying Laws? When one Party, and that with reaſon, thinks it ſelf injured and oppreſſed; and the other Party, that they may defend theſe Laws, will think the Reſtraints needful and deſerved. Muſt not this naturally beget Diſlike of each other, and ſo create Diſtance and Diſaffection, and for ever feed the Party Spirit, ſo miſchievous to our ſelves, and ſo much the Delight of our common Enemies?

So that the Miſchiefs proceeding from the Incapacities of Diſſenters are many, and greatly affect the Publick. From hence it will follow, that the taking off the Incapacities muſt be Beneficial, in proportion to the Damage now ſuſtained by them. Many great Advantages would

would accrue to the State in the ſeveral Parts and Branches of it.

The Throne now ſtands on the Foot of *Proteſtantiſm* *; muſt it not ſtrengthen this Foundation, to put all thoſe into a Capacity of ſerving the Crown, who are hearty Friends to the Proteſtant Intereſt? What can be a greater Security againſt Popiſh Claims, and the Encroachments of Popiſh Power and Policy, than to diſcountenance thoſe who have always valued themſelves on their Approaches to Popery; and employ thoſe, who are at a farther Diſtance from it? They are never like to ſtrengthen a Proteſtant Government, who ſet up for all that Eccleſiaſtical Power which makes the Tyranny of *Rome*; and who inſiſt clamorouſly on thoſe very Doctrines that were at firſt the Promoters, and are ſtill the Support of the Papal Uſurpations. The more intirely Proteſtant the Prince is who poſſeſſes the Throne of theſe Nations, the more neceſſary doth it appear, that all who are thorough Proteſtants ſhould be capable of ſerving him, and that all who lean towards Popery ſhould be treated as Perſons, who are for weakening and ruining the Foundation on which the Throne is fixed.

From the Sovereign we may proceed to the *Miniſters of State*. It is their Intereſt to have Men of ſuch Principles as Proteſtant Diſſenters employed under them. How often do we hear Complaints, of their wanting ſuch as are thoro'ly Honeſt and Truſty, to fill up inferior Places? And where are theſe more likely to be met with than among them, who have given the ſureſt Proofs of their Honeſty and Integrity, by going through very great

* *Vid.* Act of Settlement.

Reproach, and many Hardſhips upon that Account? There can be no Danger of Diſſenters getting into any *chief* Places, not one Nobleman being now left amongſt them. And as to lower Places, it muſt contribute much to the Eaſe and Safety of the Principal Miniſters, to have Men of proved Integrity, and intire Attachment to the Preſent Government under them.

The Advantage will appear yet more conſiderable, if we look into Cities and Corporations. How neceſſary it is to the Welfare of the State, that theſe ſhould be in good Hands, hath been ſhewn above. And how needful it is to this End, that Diſſenters ſhould be in a Capacity of bearing Office, cannot be unknown to any that are acquainted with the State of the Kingdom. In how many of theſe Places muſt you take in Diſſenters, if you will have Men of Probity, Senſe and Fortune, and hearty Friends to the preſent Settlement, made Magiſtrates? If you will have Tumults and Riots, and the loudeſt Inſults on his Majeſty, and Outrages on his faithful Subjects ſuppreſsd and prevented, or hinder the Perſecution of ſuch as in the moſt orderly manner expreſs their Affection to the Government. If you will prevent Soldiers, that are quarter'd in diſaffected Places to awe his Majeſty's Enemies, being made a Burden to his Friends; or ſecure a fair Election, and honeſt Return of Members for Parliament.

And many of the ſame Reaſons will urge for their being employ'd in Commiſſions *of the Peace*. In *Lancaſhire* and many other Places, there is great need of them, unleſs you will truſt that Power in the Hands of Papiſts, or their dear Allies.

If

If from hence we look to the *Sheriffs* of Counties, none need to be informed, how much County Elections may depend upon their good Management and faithful Returns; or how much depends upon their Care and Influence in many important Tryals in Courts of Judicature, particularly in empannelling Juries, that may be honeſt and careful in their Verdicts. And that Diſſenters have been wanted to act in thoſe Places, ſeems pretty plain, ſince we have found ſo many of their Names in the late Liſts.

Yet again, I ſhould think it a very great Advantage to the preſent Government, to have ſome of the warmeſt for the Proteſtant Religion, and the preſent Settlement, among the Collectors of Taxes, eſpecially in the Exciſe. There is no Danger of their talking much of Religion in Alehouſes, and amongſt that Company they will be obliged to frequent, and ſo the Church need be in no Apprehenſions from them. And by ſpreading good Accounts of the Government, of the Prince and the Adminiſtration, the State is ſure to be much the Better for them.

And after all, I am perſuaded the Government will ſoon find the happy Effects of giving freſh Vigour and Spirit to a diſheartned People; ſince this will render them more Active in its Service. It will alſo promote Emulation in thoſe of the Church Party who are well Affected. And it will moſt Effectually Diſcourage the Papiſts and the Diſaffected, to ſee their Meaſures croſſed in an Inſtance, which above all others they thought themſelves moſt ſure to prevent. It will ſerve to ſtrengthen exceedingly all thoſe who are of truly Catholick Principles in Religion, and

Advocates for a greater Freedom and Liberty in Matters of Controverſy. And muſt promote a ſtricter Friendſhip between us and Foreign Proteſtants.

And then to thoſe who have any remaining Concern for Virtue and good Manners, it will be thought Conſiderable to add, that by the Influence and Management of Diſſenters, were they in Power, many of thoſe Vices that are become moſt Intollerable and Prevailing, would be mote Conſtantly, and ſo more Effectually Puniſhed and Reſtrained.

I ſay this, not only as a Teſtimony of my Regard to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, but as an *Engliſhman*, and with a Concern to prevent the Succeſs of Popiſh Plots. It hath ever been a main Branch of theſe to excite all Manner of Vice. By this they lay waſte the Conſciences of Men, that they may not be reſtrained by Fears, from any Immoralities that will ſerve their Purpoſes. By this they bring them to neglect their Buſineſs and lead Loitering Lives; that being always at a looſe End and having nothing to do, they may employ them in a way that will moſt ſuit their vicious Temper. By this they carry them to waſte their Subſtance and impoveriſh their Families, that ſo being in Circumſtances wherein they have nothing to loſe, they may be the more eaſily engaged in Tumults and Rebellions, where there is a Proſpect of ſomewhat to be gained.

All theſe good Effects would certainly follow upon taking off the Legal Incapacities from Diſſenters, and leaving Civil Offices open to them. The preſent Government would have many Advantages from it, and the Proteſtant Intereſt much Encouragement and Support.

But

But would that Countervail the Damage the Eſtabliſhed Church will receive by it?

No doubt but the Church's Danger, would in ſuch a Caſe be the loud Cry of the Party; however odd it looks, that what is certainly for the Service of a Proteſtant King and Conſtitution, and the Support of the Proteſtant Intereſt, ſhould carry Terror in it to a Proteſtant Church, that very Church which is a Branch of the Conſtitution. But they have been ſo much uſed of late to Cheap Belief, I mean at the Coſt of no good Reaſon, that 'twill be no wonder if they ſwallow the Hook without being Covered.

But to Men of Thought and Reflection, I am perſuaded I can make it appear, that this Relief to Diſſenters will not only well conſiſt with the Church's Eſtabliſhment; but help to ſecure it; if by the Church Eſtabliſhed I may be allowed to underſtand the Proteſtant Religion, as practiſed according to the legal Conſtitution, Articles and Worſhip, and not the Catholick Church with which our Modern Fanaticks make ſuch a Noiſe.

It will be for the Honour of the Church of *England* to remove the Incapacities from Diſſenters, by taking off the Odium of *Perſecution* from her. I know they are denied to be Perſecution. No one is willing to own ſo foul an Imputation. But the depriving a Man of a legal Right without Forfeiture on his Part, for no Civil Crime, nay for what is owned to be a Duty by thoſe who yet contrive to prevent it, is to me a Wantonneſs of Perſecution. And this is the very Caſe before us. For receiving the Sacrament with the Church of *England* is no legal Crime, 'tis in the Account of thoſe who would keep Diſ-

ſenters

ſenters from it an important Duty, and worſhipping GOD with a ſeparate Congregation of Proteſtants is legally allowed.

To which let me add, that Communion of Saints (meaning, as I ſuppoſe, not thoſe of our own Cut or Stamp only) is according to the Creed: Receiving each other without Regard to doubtful Diſputation, is according to St. *Paul*: According to what then muſt it be, to puniſh a Practice which is according to the Laws of the Land, the Doctrine of St. *Paul* and the *Apoſtles Creed?* According to the very Spirit of Perſecution.

To declare againſt Perſecution, and yet deprive Men of their Birthrights for Conſcience, will always carry the Air of a *Proteſtatio contra Factum*, and look as much like Grimace as the Preamble to the *Carolina* Act in 1704, which gravely begins, *As nothing is more contrary to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of* England *than Perſecution for Conſcience-ſake only, Nevertheleſs*, &c.

Theſe Bills have robbed the Church of the Reputation of Moderation, and Conſiſtency with the Principles of the Reformation. From the Time ſhe leaves Reaſon and good Example, the proper Armour and Artillery of Truth; for Severity and Hardſhip, the only Refuge of Error and Falſhood; Men will make Obſervations to the Prejudice of her Reputation and ſinking her Character. She begins to have a forbidding Aſpect, as ſoon as ſhe ſhews any of the Airs of perſecuting Fury.

Again, I will aſſert, that having ſhewn it to be for the Safety and Advantage of the State and the preſent Eſtabliſhment, to have Diſſenters unbound, it muſt be the ſame of Courſe

Courſe to the Church. Can the Church be ſafe, when the State is in Danger? Can ſhe ſtand when the Government, is ſubverted? Is there any other Human Defence, beſides his Majeſty and his Royal Succeſſors, according to the Laws of Settlement? Hath not this been acknowledged by the Clergy, who have in this View humbly thrown themſelves on his Majeſty's Protection? And is not his Majeſty more ſafe, the more Hands he hath to ſerve and defend him; and the Church alſo, ſince her Safety is ſo dependent upon his? Doth it not carry the Appearance of an Intereſt oppoſite to that of the State, when the Church and That have not the ſame common Friends? But in Truth, are not the Enemies of both the very ſame? Is not Her chief Danger from the Enemies of the State? Is not this what every Porter knows, and is able to demonſtrate? Even they know it who have the Forehead to deny it. The Church of *England* is ſo well ſecured, by the Defence of the Laws, the Numbers and Quality, and Power of its Members, that it is impoſſible for any thing but her own Strength turned upon her ſelf, or a foreign Invaſion, to deſtroy her. The Diſſenters have more than once uſed all their Power to ſave her from ruining her ſelf; the encreaſe of their Power would therefore be an Improvement of her Strength: And of all Men they are the moſt avowed Enemies to foreign Juriſdiction or Invaſion.

They will alſo hereby be a farther Strength to our Articles, for they generally believe more in them, than moſt of thoſe who ſubſcribe them. They wiſh no more Harm to the *Liturgy*, than to have it one of the moſt com-

comprehenſive Forms in the World, and the leaſt Exceptionable. And as for thoſe Diſſenters who are againſt all Forms, they will for that Reaſon make no Competition for Places. And as for my Lords the Biſhops, the Diſſenters (who are more generally Catholick than once they were) are ready to acknowledge them what they are made by the Laws of the Land. And their legal Privileges and Honours being ſecured to them as Rewards for Overſeeing the inferior Clergy, what they are, and what they do as a Chriſtian Miniſtry, will move no Matter of Diſpute.

And ſure it is high Time to think ſeriouſly of ſome Balance to the *Jacobites* and their Diſciples in the Eſtabliſhment, who are the Falſe Brethren in the propereſt Senſe, and Enemies by Principle to both Church and State. If *Gyllemberg*'s Computation be right, that theſe Rebels are Nine in Ten (and it ſeems himſelf was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of it, as to ſay, *Let the* Swedes *but Land, and I will anſwer for the reſt*) the Lord have Mercy on the Church of *England*. She muſt be over-run, and can, humanly ſpeaking, be ſafe no other way but by opening the Doors, and letting in the Diſſenters to her Aſſiſtance. They like the Eſtabliſhed Church much better than the *Nonjurors* or *High-Church* and *Popery*. Nay, they love her for being a Bulwark againſt Popery, and for having allowed them the Liberty they now enjoy, which they can hardly hope *High-Church*, *Nonjurors*, or *Papiſts* would afford them. Upon theſe Accounts they will be ready to lend her their utmoſt Help againſt all the forementioned Parties, as heartily as they did againſt the Papiſts in the Reign of K. *James* II.

At that Time neither the former Severities

of

of the Church, nor the Wheedles of the Court, could get them into the Meaſures concerting for her Ruin. And indeed the moſt excellent and lovely Parts of Religion in which they agree with her, muſt more engage their Affection to her, than the leſſer Things wherein they differ can provoke their Diſpleaſure at any time, unleſs they are ſoured by ill Uſage. This Principle they ſtill retain, notwithſtanding the Hardſhips they have ſuffered, which were certainly contrived to weaken and deſtroy it, if poſſible.

And by this Principle they have generally acted. Nay the Threatnings of a Popiſh Court (ſuch I may call that of *Charles* IId. when it was ſo much under his Brother's Influence, and himſelf a diſguiſed Papiſt) could make no Impreſſions upon them to the Prejudice of the Conſtitution, or Hurt of the Eſtabliſhed Church. When a great Body of their Miniſters, towards the Cloſe of his Reign, had met together upon Deſire of one who was often at Court, to receive ſome Propoſals for coming into his Majeſty's Meaſures; and theſe were laid down with all imaginable Art and Inſinuation; they unanimouſly reſolved rather to ſuffer by the Laws then in Force againſt the Papiſts, than to coneur in the Way deſir'd to their being diſpenſed with. When this was carried back to Court, the King, in great Wrath, proteſted, that *then they ſhould ſuffer the utmoſt Severity of thoſe Laws, for which they had ſuch a Fondneſs, as to refuſe the advantageous Offers he had made them.* And never after did they attempt Reparation or Revenge, nor could ever be brought into the Deſigns of deſtroying the Church, or hindred from giving her all the Aſſiſtance they were able.

Their Behaviour in K. *James* IId's Time was ſo acceptable to my Lords the Biſhops, that they made this one Reaſon of their Petition to his Majeſty for a Free and Regular Parliament, that *Proviſion might be made for a due Liberty of Conſcience*, as well as for the Security of the Church according to the Act of Uniformity. So little did they think this Security and that Liberty, were Things inconſiſtent.

Their Lordſhips had ſuch an Opinion of the Behaviour of the Diſſenters at that Time, that in an Account of the late Propoſals made by the Archbiſhop, with ſome other Biſhops, to his Majeſty, in a Letter to *M. B.* Eſq; the Author hath this Paſſage: *I do aſſure you, and I am certain I have the beſt Grounds in the World for my Aſſurance, that the Biſhops will never ſtir one Jot from their Petition; but they will, whenever that happy Opportunity offers it ſelf, let the Diſſenters find that they will be better than their Word, given in their famous Petition.* This happy Opportunity has been long expected. May not their Promiſe be now pleaded? It was Perſonal indeed, but may not their Succeſſors make it good; and why ſhould it not be expected from them, if the Reaſons for it are ſtill in Force?

And is it not evident, that the ſame Reaſons urge now as did then, and that with additional Strength? We have not only Reaſon to unite againſt our common Enemies the Papiſts, but a New Party formed among our ſelves againſt the Eſtabliſhment, upon the Principles of the Catholick Church, as is pretended, tho' many of them were utterly unknown till the *Romiſh* Church began to aſſume that Title, and a corrupt Part ſet up for the Whole.

Whole. Are the Nonjurors and this Catholick Church of *England*, whoſe Stile and Title is a little more Preſumptuous than the *Roman* Catholick, no Enemies to the Eſtabliſhment? When thoſe of them who ſeparate from it, charge it loudly and boldly with damnable Schiſm, nullify its Miniſtry, Worſhip and Sacraments; and thoſe of them who comply with it, and yet admit or abet their Principles, are by them obliged to invalidate their own Miniſtry, and damn themſelves as well as the true Members of the Eſtabliſhment. Did Proteſtant Diſſenters ever deal thus by them, I mean as a Body? And are Men of this Make to be let into all Offices, without any Danger to the Church? And muſt Diſſenters, who think much more charitably of her, and treat her much more kindly, be ſtill ſhut out? Would they afford her no Aſſiſtance againſt theſe Enemies, that are not only Numerous in her very Bowels, and among her pretended Sons; but are confederate with her ſworn Enemies the Papiſts; or if not confederate will yet be ſurely help'd to compaſs their Deſign, by all the Aſſiſtance Papiſts can give them? Since they can eaſily form theſe Principles of the Catholick Church of *England* into *Roman* Catholick, eſpecially if they could once get the Pretender into the Throne, for which many of them are directly calculated. Is it not Time for the true Friends of the Conſtitution to look about them, and conſider on what ground they ſtand? Are they able of themſelves to make Head againſt this dangerous Party, when it hath ſo great a Strength in both our Univerſities? And when ſuch Numbers of the Clergy come out of theſe Se-

minaries poſſeſſed with thoſe Principles, and make it ſo much their Pulpit Buſineſs, to infuſe them into the Blind Multitude? Would not Diſſenters heartily help againſt theſe Attempts? Is not their Aſſiſtance plainly Neceſſary? And yet muſt they ſtill be kept out of Power, and rendered uncapable to do the Church that Service for which they are ſo well diſpoſed?

While the Acts continue againſt them, they keep many Real Friends of the Church as Proteſtants out of Power; but do they exclude one of its moſt avowed and dangerous Enemies? They let in Multitudes tinctured with the Principles of the Nonjurers. All the High Church pretend to be her moſt Legitimate Offspring, though they fly in her Face, and Condemn her Conſtitution as little better than Antichriſtian; and make the Pope's Supremacy over the Church Univerſal a leſs Traiterous Uſurpation, than a Proteſtant Prince's Supremacy over his own Subjects. *

And as to Papiſts, if they have a Service to do for Mother Church, they have a way to ſwallow Oaths and Sacraments, not only without Scruple, but with Merit. They have abundance of Maxims to help them over ſuch little Difficulties. Either the End conſecrates the Means. Or the Nullity of the Orders and Miniſtrations in the Church of *England*, forbids all Conſecrations of the Elements, and their wonderful Transformation; and then they remain as they were, and partaking of them is no more than eating a Bit

* Hill's Municip. Eccle. Collect. of Papers by Dr. Hicks. P. 118.

of

of common Bread, or taking a Sip of ordinary Wine. Or if the Scruples of a Popiſh Conſcience require it, a Diſpenſation from the Pope or his Commiſſioners may be procured. In *Ireland*, no longer ago than the cloſe of the laſt Reign, their Prieſts had Authority to abſolve thoſe who had taken Oaths; and other neceſſary Powers to do all the ſecret Miſchief they could, as Catholicks, under the Mask of the Church of *Ireland*.

Another Reaſon why I believe the Repeal of ſome of theſe Acts will be for the Service of the Church of *England*, is becauſe they were thought by Papiſts and Nonjurors, and Abjurors in the Pretender's Intereſt, very proper Expedients to promote their Deſign; the Accompliſhment of which would prove the Ruin of the Church of *England* and the Proteſtant Intereſt. Thoſe who were moſt Zealous in procuring them, or moſt rejoiced at them, are either actual Rebels to King *George*, or Fugitives, Traitors or ſuſpected. Is not this what *Leſley* has been driving at from the Beginning of the late Reign, in his *Wolves Stript*, his *Caſſandra's Rehearſals*, &c.? And is not this what ecchoed from him in *S——l's Paul's* Sermon? And hath been ecchoing from the whole Herd of Reluctant Abjurers ever ſince? And is not this Uniformity in their Meaſures a plain Evidence of Unity of Deſign? A Notorious Conſpiracy of ſome, that without Doors Damn the Church, and many within Doors that hate the Conſtitution though they live by her Altars, to prevent the Proteſtant Succeſſion, introduce a Popiſh Pretender, deſtroy the Eſtabliſhed Church, and make a New

one

one that ſhall neither be Popiſh nor Proteſtant but *Engliſh Catholick:* That ſhall reduce Kings and Nobles into a State of Subjection to Biſhops, their ſpiritual Sovereigns *Jure Divino:* and not only demand Homage from them, but raiſe Contributions within their Territories for the Maintenance of this ſpiritual Empire; and bring back all Things to the State of the Primitive Church; I mean in every thing that would ſerve their Purpoſe, without any Regard to Primitive Humility, Meekneſs, Poverty, Piety or Good-Manners. Their Conduct explains their Meaning fully enough; but Sir *H— M—* has put this Meaning into plain Words, when he makes the *Occaſional Bill* a Repriſal on the Diſſenters, for the *Aſſociation* and *Abjuration* Acts *.

And could that be for the Service of the Church of *England*, that was ſo grateful to all engag'd in this Conſpiracy againſt her? And if it were intended to do her Miſchief by tying up the Hands of thoſe who would heartily aſſiſt her againſt ſuch Conſpirators, is it not evident to a Demonſtration, that the looſing theſe Bonds would be for her Service?

Nay, would not this bring all true Proteſtants among us to a nearer Agreement and a ſtricter Union, when they would grow into cloſer Acquaintance, and manifeſtly help forward the ſame Deſigns? An Union not meerly in little Forms and Opinions, which are Trifles in Compariſon of the Religion loſt about them; but in the great Subſtantials of

* *Collect. of Papers by Dr.* Hicks, *p.* 108, 109.

Re-

Religion? An Agreement in Temper, mutual Forbearance, and a Conſtitution as comprehenſive as the Goſpel it is founded upon? This is the Command of Chriſt, the preſent Diſpoſition of the beſt and moſt valuable Body of Diſſenters, and may in Time be of all the reſt. It is the Deſire of the beſt of Men, as it is the Averſion and Dread of the worſt.

But may not the Removal of theſe Burdens from Diſſenters, give Uneaſineſs to ſome real Friends of the Government, who are fearful of the Church? and an Handle to its Enemies to practiſe upon them, and improve their Uneaſineſs, and to confirm and heighten the Enmity of the reſt?

As to what concerns the real Friends of the Government, it will quickly be made evident to them, that their Jealouſies are Groundleſs, and that theſe Meaſures are the moſt proper that can be taken to preſerve her: And their Regard to their Sovereign, and Deference for his Wiſdom and the Authority of Parliament, will diſpoſe them to wait till the Matter be cleared up, if the Legiſlature think fit to take off the Diſſenters Incapacities.

And as to Enemies of the Government, no queſtion is to be made but it will give them Uneaſineſs; and that they will improve it as much to the Diſadvantage of the Government as they can. But will the continuing Diſſenters under Incapacities cure their Rancour, or abate their Ill-will to the Government? Do they not uſe their utmoſt Endeavours now to prejudice as many as they can againſt it? Can they diſcover greater Oppoſition than they have already done, without breaking out into another open Rebellion? And

are they not encouraged to act this Part, by the manifeſt Odds they have, as they think, againſt Low-Church, whilſt the Diſſenters are out of all Capacity to add their Weight to that Party, by being ſhut out of all Poſts of Power and Authority in their Country? Whereas, were this Capacity reſtored, they and the Low-Church might act for the Service of the Government as one Body, with united Strength, and ſo more effectually check their Malice, and reſtrain them from doing that Miſchief their Hearts are ſet upon. This no doubt would add to their Uneaſineſs, but 'tis a ſure Sign that the Government would be ſerved by it. And muſt it out of Complaiſance to Enemies that are not to be convinced nor obliged, overlook its Friends and want their Services, the utmoſt Services they can do it? Is this either politick, or juſt, or generous? If it be, it is only towards Enemies, who muſt be gratified yet much farther, if you would have them made eaſy. You muſt let them have a new Parliament, a new Miniſtry, a defenceleſs Throne, and a naked Iſland, and then they will plainly tell you what will make them eaſy —— That is to ſay, a *New Church* and a *New King*.

F I N I S.

THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. V.

OF *Political Friendſhip.*

Ευχὴ Ἀθηναίων, ὗσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ σπαρτίων, ἤτοι ὑ δεῖ ἔυχεσθαι ἢ ὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

Marc. Anton. Lib iv. §. 7.

The Athenians *us'd to be mighty clamorous to* Jupiter *for Rain upon their own Lands, but not a Word for other People. Now to my Mind, they had e'en better have held their Tongues, or elſe pray'd with more of Extent and Generoſity.*

Collier's Ant.

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OF

Political Friendſhip.

THE Neceſſities and Inclinations of Human Nature, render it apt for *Society*. The ſtrongeſt Bond of Society is mutual *Love*, eſpecially that which is Generous, the Offspring of Good-will to others, and not the meer Reſult of Regard to our ſelves. Where this Spirit is diffuſed thro' all the Members of any larger Community, it renders their Union firm in any Common Danger, and employs every Hand for the Common Intereſt. What generally diſturbs and divides any Body of People, is the Claſh of Intereſts: Private Views are purſu'd with a Neglect of the Common Welfare; ſingle Men or Parties of Men, have an Intereſt of their own to promote, which can't be reconcil'd with the publick

Safety and Intereſt. And yet it would be manifeſtly to the Prejudice of a Community in general, if there were no ſuch Thing as private Intereſt, or in other Words, *Property*. All Men are not equally turned for Buſineſs, and 'tis no way equitable, that the *Lazy* or *Laviſh* ſhould live upon the Induſtry and Diligence of others. If the Poſſeſſions of a Community were to lie common, they would quickly lie waſte. The Diligent would ſlack their Hands; the Parſimonious grow prodigal; and the *common Stock* thus neglected on the one Hand, and expended on the other, would ſoon be conſumed and reduced to nothing.

Property is therefore a great Convenience to Society, and ſome Degree of *Selfiſhneſs* of vaſt Uſe to enlarge Property: And there is all the Reaſon in the World, that Society ſhould give its Aſſiſtance to ſecure that, from whence it is itſelf to receive ſo great Advantage. A juſt Regard to Property or private Intereſt, whether it be of ſingle Perſons, or leſſer Communities, is of vaſt Uſe to thoſe which are larger; and thoſe on the other Hand ſhould give all Encouragement to Induſtry, and Security to Mens proper Rights, whenever it can be done without Hurt to the whole Body. Some View and Expectation of this Kind, 'tis very probable, firſt drew Men into Political Combinations, and made them mix private Intereſts into a common One, as far as could be without deſtroying Property. At leaſt this is the manifeſt Intention both in Nature and by Divine Appointment

pointment (and thoſe never croſs or contradict each other) of all Political Agreements. It was to ſecure Property and not to deſtroy it, or ſwallow it up, except in ſuch Caſes wherein the manifeſt Intereſt of the Whole requires the Property of ſingle Perſons ſhould be given up. And whoever enters into any Body Politick, is always underſtood to do it with an expreſs or implied Demand of this Condition for himſelf.

In all Communities there is a Political Friendſhip, or ought to be, between the Body and all the particular Members. The Body is concern'd to look to the Safety and Security of its Members, and every Member to ſhew a due Concern for the Welfare and Security of the Community; and without this mutual Concern there is a Breach upon the Laws of Friendſhip, and the Bonds of Union would be diſſolved.

This is Political Friendſhip in the more *famous* Senſe: But as Mankind are diffuſed thro' the whole Earth; and various Incidents have actually divided them into a Multitude of Empires, Kingdoms, and Common-Wealths; it becomes impoſſible they ſhould combine in one Community, or ſubſiſt without mutual Help: This makes way for Political Friendſhip in another Notion, *i. e. Leagues* of *Friendſhip* and mutual *Alliances* between Sovereign and Independent States. A Concern for each others Welfare and Security draws them into mutual Engagements, and diſpoſes to afford proper Succours in all the Inſtances ſtipulated. And tho' their particular

ticular Intereſts may in many Reſpects interfere; this is no way inconſiſtent with an hearty Friendſhip in all the Caſes in which they have a Common Intereſt: Nay, in particular States there may be various Parties divided from each other, by peculiar Intereſts and Opinions, (which in Religious Matters is very commonly wrought up to a Principal Intereſt) who yet may have a ſincere Kindneſs for the Publick, and readily enter into mutual Bonds for the Common Good.

Whenever ſuch Engagements are made, there is a Profeſſion of Political Friendſhip; and where they are made good, there it is in Reality. Nor is it neceſſary that private Intereſt, or private Opinion, ſhould on either Side be renounc'd, when we enter into ſuch Engagements: Combination into Society is not for the Deſtruction of Property, but the Preſervation of it; excepting only where the giving up a Part is plainly neceſſary to ſupport and preſerve the Whole. In this Caſe Political Friendſhip will as much more oblige a Man to deny a particular Humour, or Perſonal Intereſt, than a Private Friendſhip; as the Publick Good is in itſelf more valuable, and more to be preferred, than that of any ſingle Perſon in all the World. But I cannot ſee why a Man has not as true a Property in the Thoughts of his Mind, and open Profeſſion, and correſpondent Practice, as he has in his outward Poſſeſſions; and equal Liberty to uſe them within the ſame Reſtriction, *i. e.* without Injury to the Publick.

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And there is this plain Inſtance of Diſparity peculiar to this Kind of Property; that nothing is ſo much a Man's *Own*, or ſo little affects the Intereſt of *other* Men.

When mutual Engagements are once made with a Reſerve of private Opinions and Intereſts; to break in upon reſerved Property, or fail to make theſe Engagements good, is a Breach of Political Friendſhip. To ask Service and Aſſiſtance on one Side; and promiſe it on the other, is actual Compact: And Failure on either Side, where the Proffer is accepted, is a Violation of the League of Friendſhip, which is directly intended for mutual Help, Security and Comfort.

There is another Sence of Political Friendſhip, tho' 'tis by a very hard Figure it bears the Name. *Policy* has either an Honourable, or an Infamous Signification. It ſtands for *Prudence*, or an honeſt Skill in managing Affairs: or elſe for wicked *Craft* and Tricking, when a Man by a Shew and Appearance of Friendſhip and Regard to private Perſons or the publick Good, intends only to ſerve Himſelf at the Expence of Both. The *Guiſe* of Friendſhip muſt be put on, perhaps of more than common Friendſhip; great Profeſſions of Sincerity made; many Offers and Promiſes of Favour: But all this in reality is only a Bait to catch the Unwary, or a Cover to other Deſigns. The Politician, in the mean time, ſincerely means Himſelf, and makes this fair Shew, and thoſe ſolemn Promiſes, to draw in others to ſerve his Intereſts, and drop them at laſt.

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This if it enter the firſt Intention, is horrid Treachery: Or if the Intentions were honeſt and real at the time of the Compact, but unforeſeen Difficulties riſing up have altered their firſt Deſigns, and they have not Firmneſs enough to ſtand their Ground againſt a ſudden Aſſault or a violent Shock; if they are not treacherous, they are *falſe Friends*, and unworthy of any farther Confidence and Truſt.

It appears by this Account of Things, that Political Friendſhip requires a Largeneſs and Generoſity of Mind, becauſe of the Differences of Sentiments and Intereſts which muſt be allowed for on each Side: Sincerity and ſteadineſs of Conduct againſt every artful Inſinuation or open Attempt to undermine and overthrow it: A Freedom from Suſpicions upon every ſlight Appearance; and a Readineſs to rely upon each other's Declarations and Aſſurances: With a conſtant Diſpoſition to return all Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Reſpect.

There is an Account in the Hiſtory of *England*, of a very great Flood which happened in the Country, and did a deal of Miſchief; ſwept away abundance of Hay and Corn, overthrew ſeveral Dwelling Houſes, drowned a great many People and Cattle, and roſe to that Height, that it ſeemed to threaten every Thing. In this Common Extremity, a great Number of Beaſts of all Sorts were got together upon riſing Ground, as a Common Refuge. Dogs, Cats, Hares, Hounds, Oxen, Cocks, Hens, and all ſtood

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as quietly as if they had forgot their Natural Antipathy, or a Sence of Common Danger had entirely ſuſpended it. Why ſhould not Common Danger and Intereſt have a like Effect upon Rational Creatures; and Men be as Wiſe as Beaſts? He who ſends the *Sluggard to the Ant* to learn Diligence and Forecaſt; He who ſends the Ungrateful to the *Ox who knows his Owner*, and the *Aſs who knows his Maſter's Crib*, does by ſuch a Providence ſend us to the Beaſts of greateſt Difference and Contrariety of Nature, to learn the Reaſonableneſs of Political Friendſhip, and to give up private Intereſts and Reſentments to a publick Good.

The Grandure of the *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires owed their firſt Being, vaſt Extent and long Continuance, to the Harmony and Union of the ſeveral Parts, and a ſteady Regard to a Common Intereſt, under all their Diverſities in other Reſpects: And they never were broken till they became diſcontented among themſelves, and went into different Factions, and were governed by private Views: as among the *Grecians* at the Death of *Alexander* the Great; and among the *Romans*, in the famous Quarrel between the *Tribunes* and the *Senate*.

The ancient *Romans* uſed to call the Friends of their Emperors *Participes Curarum*, Sharers in the publick Cares: and tho' the fond Management of weak Princes has made it become no very great Advantage either to the Prince or his Friends, to be called *Favourites*; yet when it has been rightly managed, the Peo-

ple have been ſo far from growing Uneaſy, or thinking themſelves Sufferers, that they have expreſſed the higheſt Satisfaction in it. The *Roman* Senate appointed an Altar to be dedicated to Friendſhip as a *Goddeſs*, in reſpect to the *Oneneſs* there ſeemed to be between *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*; which might have been due to their Friendſhip, had their Characters better deſerved it.

If we look into latter Times, the Inſtance of the *Switz Cantons* is the moſt Remarkable. They conſiſt of a great many leſſer Independent States, and are of different Religions, not at all friendly to one another; and yet are ſo united in one Political Friendſhip, that no Body can attack the leaſt of them, without drawing upon himſelf the whole *Helvetick* Body. Indeed the Bigot of St. *Gall* lately found Means to make ſome of the *Cantons* forget their Common Intereſt; but it has been ſo much to their Common Smart, that 'tis to be hoped, they will more ſtrictly obſerve the Rules of their Political Friendſhip for the Time to come.

Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh, the *Prince* of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*, the Church of *England*, and *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, all concurred in promoting the Revolution: And ſeveral Popiſh and Proteſtant Powers united in the Grand Alliance, and made a firm and conſiſtent Body for many Years together. It was the only Riſing Ground left, whereby to avoid the overflowing Deluge of Univerſal *French* Monarchy.

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The unequalled Example of Perſonal Political Friendſhip in the preſent Age, is that of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*; both Perſons of Spirit and Fortune; the Favourites and Confidents of their Prince, advanced to the higheſt Dignities and chief Command; of different Religions; in the Courſe of a long and various War, yet living in a perfect Friendſhip, and always acting in Concert: never once claſhing in their Intereſts, or jarring in their Pretenſions, or led by any Incident to the leaſt Jealouſy or Indifference; and with no other Emulation than of having the higheſt Eſteem and doing the greateſt Honour to one another.

I have often wonder'd there is ſo little Political Friendſhip in the World, when the common Sence of Mankind muſt needs have found it out, eſpecially led on to it ſo directly by Religion: An hearty Friendſhip in the eſſential Regards of ſocial Life, and the Things which concern the Welfare of the Community, would put it out of the Power of ſmaller Differences to deſtroy the good Will and good Underſtanding which would naturally ariſe from a joint Conſent in one Common Intereſt, if ſome Men did not uſe Arts and take Pains to prevent the Peace and Quiet of the World. The old Duke of *Buckingham* has obſerv'd, *That ſome Opinions are made uſe of to ſet the World at Odds*, and *by the Friends they maintain, enrich thoſe, who in a charitable and peaceful World, muſt have ſtarved.* There are ſome Opinions I could name are good for nothing elſe; and ſome Perſons too,

whom I need not name, who have owed all their Advancement to the Operation of ſuch Opinions. They would have ſtarved, or what is next to it, have been only in ſuch a Condition as was agreeable to the Merit of their Talents, in a peaceful and charitable World. They ſeem to be ſenſible of this, and therefore promote thoſe Opinions and Practices which have only a Tendency to deſtroy Peace and Charity; becauſe where theſe prevail, there is nothing to be got but by Merit.

There are two Things generally cement and unite Men of different Perſuaſions, and indeed ought always to do ſo: An Apprehenſion of Common Danger, and a Sence of Common *Benefit*. An Apprehenſion of Common *Danger*, is one great Foundation of Political Friendſhip, and Preſervative of the State: For it awakens a general Concern, and unites the whole Force for the Common Safety; and it can never be ruined but by a Power Superiour to the Whole. *Horace* * compares the Common-Wealth to a *Ship* all torn and rent by a late Storm; and under that Allegory diſſwades from Launching again into a new War; and adviſes to give itſelf up to *Cæſar*'s Rule, and ſit quietly under his Government. Beſides the ſeaſonable Hint this carries in it to ſome, I would make this farther Improvement of it to others: The Common-Wealth is a Ship; the Crew

* *Ode* 14. *Lib.* 1.

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are not all of a Mind; but differ as much as People do in a State; *As many Men ſo many Minds:* But let a Privateer appear, or Storm ariſe, and you'll quickly ſee all Hands aloft; the trifling Particularities are all forgot, and every Man exerts himſelf, as if he were Member of ſome Common Body, and animated by a Common Soul.

But when Men are intent upon *Party*, abſtracted from the *Community*, they become like the *Jews* at the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; every one had a Zeal for the Faction in which he was engaged, and ready to venture his Life to ſupport it againſt another; not conſidering that by this Means the *Romans* had nothing left to do, but to ſtand by and ſee them devour one another. And I pray God, ſays Biſhop *Stillingfleet* in one of his Sermons, "That may never be ſaid of another Sort "of *Romans* concerning this Church of ours. "We can't but be ſenſible how much they "are pleaſed with our Diviſions, and that "they have always Hay and Stubble enough, "not only to build with, as they do, but "whereby to add Fuel to our Flames. "How happy ſhould we be if we could once "lay aſide all Party Animoſities, and all "mind the true Intereſt of our Church, and "the Security of the Proteſtant Religion by "it, which ought to be dearer to us than "our Lives. But that is our Miſery, that "our Diviſions in Religion have made us "not more contemptible than ridiculous to "Foreign Nations; and it puzzels the Wiſeſt "among our ſelves to find out Expedients

"to

" to keep us from Ruining one of the beſt " Churches in the Chriſtian World.

The Emiſſaries of the Church of *Rome* have driven a long and ſucceſsful Trade among us in ſtarting new Opinions, and ſetting up new Sects, and crumbling us into as many Subdiviſions as they could; partly to caſt a Slur upon the Glory of Liberty and Toleration, which her Tyranny will not allow; but chiefly becauſe they have found we have been ſo ſilly, that every Difference is made a Diviſion; and every Diviſion a freſh Spring of Enmity, and a great Weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt: But now all this Labour would be in vain, if we could become wiſe enough to admit this Political Friendſhip, and eſtabliſh this Maxim as Sacred, (and indeed 'tis as Sacred as any other that can be named, either in Politicks or Religion) *That Difference ſhall not divide, or create Enmity; but ſo much the rather unite us againſt the Common Enemy as we find we need the Liberty of Differing, which their Tyranny will not allow.* 'Tis all *Grimace* to bewail the Animoſities of Parties and the ill Effects of Difference among People of the ſame Religion, if 'tis with a Deſign to inſinuate, that the only Cure of ſuch a Diſeaſe is to reduce all Men to the ſame Opinions and Forms: That Intention is itſelf an Inſtance of the Faction and Animoſity it laments, as it is the main Cauſe of its miſchievous Effects. No, no, Let every one's Right to his Opinion and Religion, as far as ſtands with the publick Peace, be as Sacred as Honour, Truth, and Con-

Conſcience: Let Him be the *Schiſmatick*, the *Factious*, the *Heretick*, who ſhall give up this Right himſelf, or offer to impoſe upon it in others; and let Political Friendſhip in all Offices take Place among thoſe who agree in a Common Good, whatſoever they differ in beſide.

By this Means the Common Offices of mutual Friendſhip and good Neighbourhood, would be preſerved, which we have ſeen of late ſo often violated; as if *Courteouſneſs to all Men*, Gentleneſs, Peace, Benevolence were no Parts of our Religion or Politicks.

It would add to the Strength and Power of a Nation, render it conſiderable to its Friends and Allies, and formidable to its Enemies; when it becomes a known Maxim, that however they differ in other Matters, they underſtand their Common Intereſt, and will heartily unite againſt a Common Enemy. There is all the ſame Advantages in Political Friendſhip, whether with different States, or different Parties in the ſame State; as there is in private Life, from Common Friendſhip. The publick Underſtanding, if I may be allowed to ſpeak ſo, is happily guided and informed; where 'tis right, it will be ſtrengthened and ſupported; where 'tis miſtaken, it will be rectify'd and ſet to rights. The publick Councils are much more ſafe, where there is a *Multitude of Counſellors*, and more comprehenſively Beneficial. The publick Cares are leſſened and ſit lighter, by Communicating, and taking others to ſhare in them. The publick Joys and Triumphs

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are ſenſibly increaſed, by being diffuſed: And all the publick Proceedings and Adminiſtrations become more eaſy and ſucceſsful. A Kingdom or State, for Inſtance, may be at a Loſs in Treating with an *Enemy*; perhaps 'tis neceſſary to be upon Terms with them, and nearly affects ſome conſiderable Intereſt: But now another Court or Government which is not bound to ſuch Terms, may interpoſe with Advantage, and take thoſe Steps to expedite an Affair, which would not be proper in themſelves, or like to be accepted and effectual. So in Treating with an *Allie*, thoſe Things may be gracefully offered and propoſed in many Caſes by another, which would not become the Prince himſelf who is concerned to obtain them. And 'tis a peculiar Advantage in Political Friendſhip, that if Death happens in one or two Inſtances of Leading Perſons, before a wiſe and conſiderable Scheme which has been concerted can be accompliſhed; there are others left in the ſame Meaſures and Deſign, to purſue and finiſh it.

It would diſcourage Plots and ſecret Conſpiracies: A Union in one Political Bond; which allows for any particular Differences, conſiſtent with the Conſtitution and publick Peace; would hardly leave a Diſpoſition to Plot, or any popular Temptation to it. When every peaceable Subject enjoys his native Liberty and proper Rights, what Pretence has any Man left to be uneaſy? And it would be the greateſt Diſcouragement againſt any Attempt of that Kind, when

the Attack is known to be made upon a Body united in Political Friendſhip: Their other Differences in ſuch a Caſe, would do no more Harm, than Variety of Faces, Statures and Airs, among the Soldiers of the ſame Army: The Enemy is ſure to find them a united Body, and of one Mind, for all thoſe Differences.

If the Court were a Soil where this Excellent Plant could thrive, the King's Service, which we are ſo happy as to be able to ſay is entirely the ſame with the Nation's, would never ſuffer thro' Competitions, Jealouſies, and jarring Pretenſions of Courtiers; ſince in *hoc Tertio*, they would all meet as Friends. Hearty Friends of the King and Conſtitution, muſt be ſo far Friends to one another; ready to aſſiſt Themſelves, and heartily diſpoſed to rejoice in all the publick Good which is done by Others, let it be by whom it will.

There is the ſame Reaſon for ſteady Adherence to the Ties of Political Friendſhip, as there is to be true to any other Society Men enter into; that they may be ſure of the united Skill of the Body for their Direction and Benefit, and the united Force of it for their Defence. 'Tis plainly with a Proſpect of mutual Advantage ſuch Friendſhip is founded; and by being falſe to it, all thoſe Advantages which were intended by it, or could poſſibly be obtained, are loſt at once. The Matter is very clear in the Caſe of Alliance with Foreign Nations: A ſtrict Regard to the Forms on which ſuch Leagues

are founded; and a friendly Concern for the Intereſts of People with whom we are thus confederated, even in Affairs not expreſly mentioned; is abſolutely neceſſary: and a perfidious Violation, or Coolneſs and Unconcern about the Intereſts of ſuch Political Friends, cannot but be of dangerous Conſequence. The great Succeſs of the *Grand Alliance* in all its ſeveral Seats, was chiefly owing to the Friendſhip I have deſcrib'd; A common and very formidable Enemy was awed, humbled, and almoſt ſubdued: But when this came to ceaſe, it was no wonder the whole Face of Affairs was every where preſently altered: They who could no longer be Faithful to each other, or Depend on one another, were all, one after another, tricked, injured and oppreſs'd. Nor were the Advantages of Political Friendſhip more Conſpicuous in the Conduct and Succeſs of the Peerleſs *Marlborough* and *Eugene*, than the Danger of proving falſe to it was in the fatal Conſequence of the Political Perfidy of the attainted Duke of *Ormond*.

The Parties aggrieved by this Falſhood will hardly ever be perſwaded to place any Confidence in the warmeſt Profeſſions afterwards: To be once deceived is enough. And all other wiſe Nations and Parties and Perſons will learn Wiſdom at their Expence, and hardly lay much ſtreſs on a Friendſhip ſo precarious and enſnaring *. And if after

* *Nemo enim iis ſe facile adjungit quibus Jus, fas, fidem vilia putat.* Grot. de Ju. Bel. & Pa.

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ſuch diſcouraging Fickleneſs any ſhould, by the Neceſſity of their Affairs, be driven to profeſs Friendſhip again, there will be endleſs Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, which make the Friendſhip unpleaſant while it continues, and will be like to end in an open Rupture at laſt. This was plainly the Caſe with the Earl of *O*—— and the *Tories*; they received him, and uſed him, but they ever miſtruſted him; and thought it neceſſary to get rid of him at laſt. Nor is it the leaſt Miſchief in this Caſe, which often happens between private Friends when they fall out, every Secret committed to them in Confidence is immediately divulged, by way of Revenge for betraying their Truſt. Indeed whatſoever unhappy Conſequences ſhould deter from Falſhood in Common Friendſhip, hold good with greater Advantage for Faithfulneſs and Steadineſs in this.

'Tis not eaſy to ſay whether the Danger of violating Political Friendſhip, or the Miſchief of a falſe Pretence to it, is the greater Evil. 'Tis certain the more Valuable and Uſeful any Thing is, the more dangerous is the Counterfeit. A Man puts on the Appearance of a Generous Friendſhip, meerly to ſerve ſome politick Ends of his own, which is nothing elſe but the Hypocritical Aping of that uſeful and vertuous Union of Perſons and Parties I am ſpeaking of: When, for Inſtance, in a time of Common Danger, mutual Sympathy and Concern is profeſſed on all Sides; every one ſeems to have at Heart his Neighbours Grievances, as well as

his Own; and united Endeavours are ſeemingly directed to the Removal of All as a Common End: But a Prince has a fair Opportunity to make a ſeparate Peace, and leaves all his Allies in the Lurch; or a private Man finds a way to make his own Fortune, and then ſhews by the neglect of his Aſſociates in Danger, that he meant nothing but Himſelf, by all his Pretence to a publick Good: An ejected Courtier ſhall careſs and compaſſionate *Joſeph*, when both lie under Diſgrace; but if he comes to ſit warm in his Place again, *Joſeph* may ſtill wear his Fetters for him without any kind Remembrance and Regard: at leaſt till a freſh Difficulty bring him to Mind, and revive ſome Tenderneſs and Concern.

Every Body is ready to declaim againſt this Conduct as baſe and unworthy in other People, and yet there is not a more Common Practice in the World. Certainly nothing can be more Diſingenuous: 'Tis altogether wearing a Mask, and giving a falſe Repreſentation of a Man's ſelf. He puts himſelf upon the World for a *Patriot*, and a Man of generous Deſigns, when in Truth, he is vilely Mercenary, and has no Taſte of Social Vertue. He treats his Neighbour upon very unfair and unequal Terms: Honeſt Men are drawn in to ſerve his private and particular Purpoſes, when a common Intereſt was pretended on both Sides, and ſincerely meant on One. Men of the moſt honeſt Intentions, are the moſt liable to be hurt by this Conduct, for they are put off their Guard by a ſpeci-

ous

ous Pretence, and have the leſs Capacity for Self-defence. The Fairneſs of the Colour they wear makes the Hypocriſy the more Abominable and Pernicious. If a Man wears the Mask of Religion to enable him with the greater Succeſs to impoſe upon others, his Hypocriſy for that Reaſon, carries in it both the more Baſeneſs, and the more Danger. The next beſt thing in the World to Religion, is being a Patriot, and Well-wiſher to Mankind; and if a Man makes uſe of this as a Cloak, to ſerve himſelf, and accompliſh ungenerous Ends of his own; he muſt be the more deteſted by every honeſt Man, when the Mask drops of and his true Deſigns appear; and in the mean time is capable of the more dangerous and ſpreading Miſchief. The Friendſhip he pretends, enables him, like *Judas*, with the greater Eaſe to betray his Maſter or his Friend.

This which has been complained of in all Ages, is grown ſo common in ours, that nothing has gone farther to weaken the Bonds of Society, which is neceſſarily founded upon the Apprehenſion of a general and common Intereſt. It ſhould indeed be reſented by every Body. Not only by thoſe who are immediately the Dupes of thoſe deſigning Knaves; but by every Man of upright Intentions. If He had come in their Way, he would have met with no better Uſage. And beſides that, it injures him in another Kind: Thoſe who have found themſelves impoſed upon already by fair Pretenſions, cannot help entertaining a Jealouſy of others for the Fu-

Future, who may in Truth have an honeſt Meaning; and ſo they loſe the Confidence which they have a Right to, becauſe of the treacherous Abuſe which thoſe Men have made of their Truſt.

And here I cannot but reflect with a generous Concern upon the unfriendly Temper among the different Parties which has prevailed among us; and which is as impolitick as 'tis irreligious; and a juſt Reaſon both of Reproach and Complaint. Inſtead of Largeneſs and Generoſity of Mind, allowing for leſſer Differences, there has been a ſtingy Narrowneſs and ſelfiſh Spirit; each one's Peculiarities have been magnified and ſtrained, and loaded with a diſproportionate Weight. Inſtead of Sincerity and ſteadineſs of Conduct, Men have been told one thing at one time, and quite the contrary at another, and have found out a Conduct as variable as the Wind of popular Favour, or Tide of Court Preferment. Inſtead of Freedom from Suſpicions, and relying upon honeſt and repeated Aſſurances; there have been innumerable Suggeſtions of Danger and ill Deſigns, without any one Allegation ever made good. Inſtead of a Diſpoſition to return Expreſſions of Kindneſs, ſome Men have endeavoured to leſſen the moſt Signal Service, and throw a general Contempt upon others; yea, we have ſeen People uſed with Violence, and made the Mark of popular Rage, who have been always hearty in their Country's Intereſt, and ſometimes found neceſſary for the Support of the Whole.

And

And 'tis eaſy to foretel, by the natural Tendency and Effects of Things, it can never be happy with us, till the ſeveral Parties grow ſo wiſe to drop private Quarrels and Party Intereſt; and joyn together in a hearty Zeal for the Common Good, in which they all agree, and which is both more conſiderable and of greater Conſequence to each, than the Peculiarities on either Side about which they differ.

FINIS.



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—— II. Letters to the Author.
—— III. Of Plots.
—— IV. Of Removing the Incapacities of Proteſtant Diſſenters.

All Printed for *J. Knapton,* at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard; *J. Harriſon* under the *Royal-Exchange*; and *A. Dodd,* without *Temple-Bar.*

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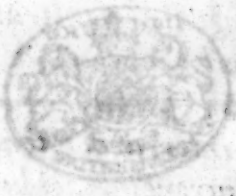
OF *ACTS* of *GRACE.*

Ergo humanitatis dulcedo etiam in efferata barbarorum Ingenia penetrat, torvoſque & truces hoſtium mollit oculos, ac Victoriæ inſolentiſſimos Spiritus flectit. Nec illi difficile & arduum eſt, inter arma contraria, inter diſtrictos cominus mucrones placidum iter reperire. Vincit iram, proſternit odium, hoſtilemque ſanguinem hoſtilibus Lachrymis miſcet. Valer. Max. Lib. v. cap. 1.

LONDON:

Printed for J. KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; J. HARRISON, under the *Royal Exchange*; and A. D'ODD, without *Temple-Bar*. 1717.

(Price 3 *d.*)



OF

ACTS of GRACE.

ACTS of Grace or General Pardons are always underſtood to have their Riſe from Royal Favour, in whatever Form they paſs for the Benefit of the Subject. In former Times they were commonly granted by the Crown alone as a Branch of the Prerogative. And there are modern Inſtances of the ſame Nature; as that iſſued by King *James* II. about a Month before the Prince of *Orange*'s Landing. Since the Cuſtom has prevailed to have the Concurrence of the three Parts of the Legiſlature in them; it has either been recommended from the Throne to the Wiſdom of the Parliament to frame them; or the Draught has been ſent down by the King to the Houſes, and (in a way different from all other Acts of Parliament,) room only left for their Negative.

We have many Inſtances in our Hiſtory of all the Forms. I'll look back no farther than the Reſtoration. King *Charles* II. before his Arrival in *England*, in his Declaration from *Breda*, *April* 14. 1660. promiſed to "grant a "free and general Pardon under the Great "Seal to all his Subjects of what Degree or "Quality ſoever, who ſhould lay hold of that "Grace and Favour within forty Days after "the publiſhing of it, and by any Publick Act "declare their doing ſo, and return to the "Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects: "And that no Crime whatſoever ſhould be "brought in Queſtion againſt their Lives, Li-"berty, or Eſtates; and, as far as lay in his "Power, to the Prejudice of their Reputati-"ons, by any Reproach or Terms of Di-"ſtinction: Requiring, that all Notes of Diſ-"cord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, "ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd among all his "Subjects; and conjuring them to a perfect "Union among themſelves". Beſides this, upon his coming over, he left it to the Houſe of Commons to frame an Act of General Pardon, which he paſſed *Auguſt* 29.

After the Revolution, King *William* recommended it to the Houſe of Lords, *March* 28. 1689. to prepare ſuch a Bill. But it had no Effect in that Method, till one was ſent down from the Crown, and paſſed in *May*, 1690.

The laſt we have had was that of Queen *Anne* in the Year 1709. which was ſent down to the Lords, and from them to the Commons, and then had the Royal Aſſent.

Tho'

Tho' it has ben juſtly eſteemed true Policy not to make ſuch Favour to Criminals too frequent; yet to grant Indemnities upon proper Occaſions has been deſervedly reckoned the Wiſdom and the Glory of the beſt Adminiſtrations.

Sometimes they have been evidently owing to the Goodneſs of a Prince's Diſpoſition and the Kindneſs of his Temper. Mercy to the Miſerable, Pity to People in Diſtreſs, and a generous Deſire of doing Good, and of making all Perſons eaſy and happy as far as they can, is a Human Diſpoſition. This may ſometimes touch the Breaſts of Princes as well as others; and they may become Fathers of their Country by the Generoſity of their Mind, and Univerſal Good-will to Mankind. As on the contrary, an unrelenting Severity is often owing to a Cruelty of Temper; as *Seneca* * obſerved to one of the moſt remarkable Inſtances of that in all the *Roman* Empire, "Cruelty is un-"worthy of Human Nature. To delight in "Blood and Wounds, is to lay aſide the Man, "and become a Savage Creature". To this Principle of a kind and good Diſpoſition, owing either to Temper or Philoſophy, the *Roman* Hiſtorians aſcribe the Clemency eminent in many Actions of *Auguſtus*, *Titus*, and the two *Antonines*.

Such Favour to Offenders frequently proceeds from a certain Greatneſs of Soul; fearleſs and ſecure againſt the Attempts of turbulent and ſeditious Spirits. Cruelty and extream Seve-

* *De Clementia ad Neron.* l. 1. c. 24.

rity

rity upon all Occaſions, is juſtly eſteemed the Mark of a puſillanimous and timerous Spirit. As the ſame Philoſopher * obſerves, " Tis the " Property of a great Mind to be ever eaſy " and compos'd, and to deſpiſe Injuries and " Provocations: 'Tis effeminate to be outra- " gious in Reſentment." Such was the great Heart of *Julius Cæſar*, that in the very Battle of *Pharſalia* he gave Orders to ſpare the Citizens; and as *Suetonius* † obſerves of him, " He diſ- " cover'd an admirable Moderation and Cle- " mency, both in the Proſecution of the Civil " War and the Management of the Victory.

But beſides theſe Inducements from the good Qualities of Princes themſelves, they are often determin'd to ſuch Acts of Grace from the wiſe Ends of Government. For a merciful Adminiſtration uſually gains a general Reſpect and Love: It ſecures eſpecially the zealous Affection of the beſt Men, of ſuch as are Kind and Human themſelves, and delight in the Peace and Happineſs of their Neighbours and their Country. No one Vertue carries a Prince's Reputation higher than Clemency; and no Reputation contributes more either to his Security or his Glory. All look upon ſuch a Prince as a Common Good. They have reaſon to expect from him all the Bleſſings of a mild Government: To be eaſy and content themſelves, faithful to his Service, and zealous in their Duty: When they ſee him merciful even to the Criminal, and gracious to ſuch as have been his own Enemies; and that he has a greater regard to the Publick Peace

* *Ibid.* c. 5. † *Sueton* in *Jul. Cæſ.*

and

and Welfare, than to any private Paſſion or Reſentment of his own. *Seneca* admirably expreſſes the Sentiment of a good Subject in ſuch a Caſe. * "He views his Prince with a Re- "ſpect and Veneration, as if the immortal "Gods condeſcended to makes Themſelves "viſible. Certainly he comes neareſt to Them, "who behaves himſelf with a Similitude of "Temper, in Beneficence and Generoſity. "Tis becoming to aſpire at the Imitation "of Them: So to appear Great, as at the "ſame Time to be eſteem'd moſt Good."

It may alſo be conſider'd, that ſuch Clemency in a Prince, prevents the Uneaſineſs and Diſſatisfaction, which many Perſons feel upon numerous and frequent Examples of Juſtice; tho' they are ever ſo reaſonable in themſelves, or ever ſo well deſerv'd by the Sufferers. As there is a Natural Pity in moſt Men, this is eaſily mov'd at the Sight of capital Puniſhments, without conſidering the juſtifiable, or it may be neceſſary Cauſes of them. How ſenſibly touch'd are the Spectators at our common Executions, even tho' they know at the ſame Time, that the Sufferers are notorious Offenders, unfit to live for the Peace of Mankind, and moſt fit to be cut off as the Monuments of Publick Juſtice? And it may not be below the Care of a Government to ſee, that frequent Compaſſions for ſuffering Criminals do not degenerate (tho' never ſo unjuſtly) into a Suſpicion of Cruelty in the Government it ſelf.

There may be Hopes ſometimes of gaining over the Offenders themſelves: and a well-

* *Sen. de Clem.* l. 1. c. 19.

plac'd

plac'd Clemency may make a faſt Friend of a fierce Enemy. Without doubt it is a noble and uſeful Policy, where there is a Proſpect of ſucceeding, to deſtroy the Traytor by ſaving the Man, and to gain a Friend inſtead of ridding your ſelf of an Enemy. The Degeneracy of the World indeed makes this Event very doubtful; yet there are ſome Inſtances of a good Effect, to encourage new Experiments. *Auguſtus* was hardly more illuſtrious in the generous Part to *Cinna*, than *Cinna* was in the grateful to him *. "*Cinna*, (ſays *Auguſtus* to him) I give you "your Life: From this Day forward, let a "Friendſhip commence between us; and our "only Contention be, whether I ſhew more "Honour in granting your Life, or you in "deſerving it by your future Actions. *Au-* "*guſtus* found him (ſays my Author) well-af- "fected and faithful ever after, and was his "only Heir, and diſturb'd with no farther "Attempts from him."

But if the Favour ſhould be loſt upon a baſe and ungrateful Mind, it will at leaſt have one good Effect; it will juſtify a future neceſſary Severity, where it has been receiv'd and is abus'd. All muſt be convinc'd, that to ſpare ſuch whom no Acts of Clemency can reclaim, is not Clemency, but Weakneſs: That when a Prince has already perform'd the Part which Goodneſs calls for, and it is found in Experience ineffectual, he is then oblig'd to uſe the only remaining Method of Peace and Safety to himſelf and the Community; that is, to

* *Ibid.* c. 9.

cut

cut off by the Sword of Juſtice ſuch as Acts of Mercy cannot reduce to their Duty.

Upon ſuch Views as theſe, wiſe and good Governors ſee meet, at proper Seaſons, to give undeſerved Mercy a free Courſe. And certainly they have all the Reaſon in the World, as far as Juſtice and Gratitude can influence, to expect that it ſhould diffuſe an undiſſembled Loyalty and Affection through all their People. Every good Subject, tho' he needs not the Grace himſelf, will receive it as a pleaſing Inſtance of the Natural Beneficence of his Prince. That which will recommend a Monarch to the Eſteem and Veneration even of thoſe at a Diſtance, and inſpire them with Wiſhes that they could call him Theirs, muſt certainly yield a double Pleaſure to ſuch as have an immediate Intereſt in him, and raiſe their Expectation of all the Kindneſs and Countenance to be hop'd for from a gracious Prince towards dutiful Subjects, when he ſtudies how to melt down even Rebels themſelves by unmerited Grace. If there be any among his Subjects Indifferent and Diſaffected to his Perſon and Government, tho' they have not been actually in Rebellion, and therefore have not immediate Occaſion for the Grace which he extends to others; yet theſe ought to admit Impreſſions to his Advantage from the Royal Clemency. He that ſees nothing in this to indear a Prince to him, or that feels no Relenting if he has been diſaffected, or no Warmth kindled in his Breaſt towards him if he was indifferent before, is indeed a Reproach to human Nature. A Man of Vertue, if he ſcrupled the Title of ſuch Prince, could hardly

forbear wiſhing that he might enjoy the Happineſs of being his Subject. But for the Generality of thoſe, who appear diſaffected to his preſent Majeſty, conſcientious Scruples are out of the Caſe, after they have given the moſt open and ſacred Aſſurances that they own him for their Lawful and Rightful Prince, and engag'd Themſelves to the ſtricteſt Loyalty and Fidelity. After this, Animoſity, or even Coolneſs to his Intereſts, can have no Shadow of Defence. But if ſuch Goodneſs will not lead them to Repentance, I know not what can.

Thoſe who are to be the immediate Objects of his Mercy, may well be expected to ſhew every Thing that is Grateful and Dutiful for the Future. After they have diſputed his Title in the open Field, or engag'd in treaſonable Cabals againſt him, and are in the Power and at the Mercy of an injur'd Sovereign; ſome of them brought by the Voice of their Country through the Forms of Law, into the very Hands of the Executioner, if a gracious Prince had not ſtop'd the Hand of Juſtice: If ſuch as Theſe (I ſay) are made the Monuments of Royal Grace, can any Thing leſs than the higheſt Gratitude be expected by God and Man from them? The very Acceptance of a Pardon from him, is at leaſt a Pledge of their Fidelity for the Future. No Prince can be ſuppos'd to ſpare a Rebel, with the Proſpect of his engaging in new Attempts as ſoon as he is diſcharg'd. He might indeed that way ſhew the greater Contempt, but ſuch a Contempt as cannot conſiſt with a Prudent Adminiſtration. A wiſe Prince depends at leaſt upon the peaceable Behaviour of thoſe to whom he extends

his

his Clemency; and thoſe who accept of it without that Intention, baſely deceive a gracious Sovereign. In truth, common Teſtimonies of Submiſſion ſhould not content them. More is due from them than from others, to retrieve their loſt Honour, and to anſwer the ſpecial Favours they have receiv'd. For pardon'd Rebels to aſſociate again with the Enemies of the Government, to give them any Countenance, to hear with Patience their little defaming Stories, would be the moſt diſingenuous Treachery. But to enter into any of their Meaſures for over-turning or diſtreſſing the Government, is a Crime which wants a Name black enough. It may be expected, that they ſhould let their Prince into the Extent of former Conſpiracies, at leaſt as fully as this can be done without breaking through Rules of Honour and betraying their Friends; or if there ſhould be any among them, who can ſubmit to accept a Pardon from a ſuppos'd Uſurper, and ſhall ſtill plead Conſcience againſt the Acknowledgment of his Title; certainly the leaſt that they owe in Honour, is to quit his Dominions, that they may be out of the Reach of Temptation to any new Attempt of diſturbing a Prince who generouſly gave them their Lives.

If Vertue prevail'd in the World, the Favour extended to rebellious Subjects would certainly iſſue in ſuch happy Conſequences: and then good Princes would never be unready to purſue their own Inclinations to Clemency. But it muſt be own'd, Acts of Grace (like any other good Thing) are liable to Abuſe, and too often found in Experience to be attended

with Publick Inconveniences. A wiſe Governor underſtands the World too well to expect, that by the moſt conſpicuous Clemency he ſhall win upon all his Enemies, or ſoften every diſcontented Spirit. Inſtead of that, ſeveral ill Effects cannot but be foreſeen, as very likely to inſue upon it.

Many Tongues will be ſet looſe, which thro' Conſciouſneſs of Guilt and Fear of Puniſhment, were for ſome Time ſilent and modeſt, to the great Satisfaction and Repoſe of their Neighbours: And many Hands at Liberty to act againſt the Government, which were before either kept unactive in a Confinement, or reſtrained by the Dread of being call'd to an Account for their paſt Misbehaviour. His Majeſty's good Subjects know by Experience, how ſerviceable this Fear has been to keep many peaceable and inoffenſive, at leaſt more tolerable Neighbours, than formerly they were us'd to be.

And we ordinarily ſee, that Thoſe who leaſt deſerve the Royal Mercy, as having been the principal Actors in a Rebellion, are of all others concern'd the readieſt to abuſe it. There is a more rational Proſpect of gaining or quieting the meaner Sort among the Diſaffected by an Act of Grace. There is nothing more commonly or ſucceſsfully improv'd by the Leaders in Sedition, to ſet the Populace againſt a Government, than a Notion of its Severity, which they will call Cruelty: They little conſider the Reaſons that make Acts of Publick Juſtice neceſſary for the Safety of the Society; nor are prepar'd to enter into the Juſtneſs of that Thought, which was happily expreſſed

preſſed in an Addreſs preſented ſome Time ago, that *it is in Compaſſion to the Innocent, that the Laws ordain the Guilty to be puniſhed.* No, they are always taken with Mildneſs and Clemency, without Regard to Circumſtances: And therefore ſuch Acts make them Friends or very inoffenſive Enemies; and are for that Reaſon expedient to ſuppreſs a Rebellious Spirit in them. "The Poets feign, (ſays my Lord "*Bacon* in his *Eſſay on ſedious Troubles,*) that "when the reſt of the Gods would have bound "*Jupiter* by the Counſel of *Pallas*, he ſent for "*Briareus* with his hundred Hands to come in "to his Aid. An Emblem no doubt (adds he) "to ſhew how ſafe it is for Monarchs to make "ſure of the Good-will of Common People.

But the Ill-will of the Heads of a Faction is never founded upon ſuch Reaſons. They know too well the Abſolute Neceſſity of Puniſhments to ſupport the Authority and Peace of a Government, to be diſguſted at a Prince meerly upon that Account; however artfully they may uſe this Pretence as the Ground of their Clamours and the Seed of Popular Diſcontents. But Intereſt and Luſt of Power, making their Fortunes by carrying a bold Attempt, theſe are the Springs of Rebellion in them. And a Pardon leaves them but where it found them, without any Gratification of their governing Paſſions, and uneaſy at the Diſappointment of their Hopes. So that a Government, which will not let them into Power, can hardly abate their Enmity or quiet their Minds by the utmoſt Lengths of Mercy which Prudence will allow it to run in ſuch a Caſe. Inſtead of that, 'tis well if they are

not

not encouraged by having the good Fortune to eſcape the preſent Danger, to play the ſame Game again upon hopes of Impunity.

What then! muſt there be no Mercy, no Grace to Rebels? By all Means. Let the Throne be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs, and upheld by Mercy. Governors will not for the ſake of theſe Inconveniences reſolve upon unrelenting Severity: But Prudence will oblige them to uſe the beſt Precautions they can, for ſecuring the valuable Ends, with as few of the ill Effects as poſſible.

For this Purpoſe, it has been the Care of Prudent Rulers not to make ſuch Acts of Grace too common; leſt they ſhould grow contemptible by Frequency, or ſeditious Minds ſhould get above the Terror of Juſtice, by preſuming upon the Clemency of the Government as a Thing of Courſe. A Prince will look forward as well as backward, in the Manner of diſpenſing his Favour, and give his Subjects fair warning that they are not to look upon it as a Precedent. Majeſty and Mercy ſhall ſhine at once in the Diſtribution, as they do in our moſt Gracious Sovereign's Words to his Parliament upon this Occaſion; "That nothing may be "wanting in me to quiet the Minds of all my "Subjects, I have given directions to prepare "an Act of Grace; and however it may be "received by thoſe who are obſtinately bent "on the Ruin of their Country, I promiſe my"ſelf that it will raiſe a due Senſe of Grati"tude in all ſuch as have been artfully miſled "into Treaſonable Practices againſt my Per"ſon and Government, and preſerve them "from ſtanding in need of the like Mercy for

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" the Future, when ſuch an Inſtance of Cle-
" mency may not be ſo Expedient for the Pub-
" lick Welfare, as it would be agreeable to
" my own Inclinations.

Another Precaution of great Conſequence, is, the Choice of a proper Seaſon. It lies not within the Province of private People to determine this, and 'tis ſeldom within their Reach to judge of it. They ſtand not upon the ſame riſing Ground with their Governors to take that large Compaſs of View which is neceſſary for diſcovering the fitteſt Juncture. Yet this I may venture to ſay in the general, the beſt Time muſt certainly be, when it is likely to do moſt Good to the Publick, and to be moſt for the Service and Honour of the Crown. And with this View we find our Princes have exerciſed their Clemency ſooner or later, juſt as Circumſtances have vary'd. A new Acceſſion to the Throne has been the moſt accuſtomed Period of any other, for Inſtances of Mercy: But this has either been upon a peaceable and undiſturbed Succeſſion, when Seditious Attempts againſt the Government have little Share in the Favour: Or when, after a long Defection, there has appeared a very general and hearty Return of the Subjects to their Duty; which was the Caſe at the Reſtoration. On the other Hand, when there has been a remarkable Courſe of Male-Adminiſtration in the foregoing Reign; when the States of the Kingdom had declared a Diſpoſition to inquire into the Miſmanagements of evil Counſellors; or when a Spirit of ſtrong Diſaffection and Rancour againſt the new Government ſhew'd itſelf: It has been thought pro-

proper to continue the Rod of Juſtice over the Heads of the Malecontents, till Parliamentary Inquiries have had their Courſe, and the Publick Affairs were better ſettled. All theſe Circumſtances met to retard an Act of Indemnity upon the Revolution. I need not obſerve the Parallel at King *GEORGE*'s Acceſſion; with the Addition of an actual Rebellion; and, when that was ſuppreſſed, new Deſigns formed abroad to give us freſh Diſturbance in Concert with the Reſtleſs Faction at home. Certainly they can have no Reaſon to think much of the delay of his Majeſty's Grace, whoſe new Practices of Sedition and inſufferable Inſolence made it abſolutely inconſiſtent with all the Rules of good Policy to releaſe them from their Fears one Day ſooner. A Prince will not be hectored out of his Mercy; nor regard the Petitions of Rebels for it, as long as they are ſpiriting their Accomplices to inſult that very Government, whoſe Mercy they implore, by inſolent Language, malicious Lies, and affected Marks of Diſtinction.

When the Seaſon has been thought proper for an Exerciſe of Mercy, it has always employ'd the matureſt Thoughts of the Government, how far it ſhould extend both as to Perſons and the Degrees of Favour. King *Henry* the 7th thought fit more than once to ſcatter a Rebellion by a Proclamation of Grace at the Head of the Rebels to all, except the Prime Leaders, who would lay down their Arms and return to their Obedience. This has ſometimes melted down a Body of ſome Thouſands; and the Heads of the Party, being deſerted

ſerted, have been the only Sufferers, as they were the Fomenters of the Miſchief. This has ſav'd the Labour of bringing up the heavy Artillery. But where Men have ſtood the Fate of War, and where defeated, taken, at Mercy; as Examples of Juſtice have uſually been made before any Significations of Favour; ſo theſe at laſt have paſt with ſeveral Exceptions and Limitations, even when the Title has run in the moſt general Terms of a *Full and Free Pardon.* And upon different Occaſions which needed Mercy in one and the ſame Reign, it has not always been exerciſed in thoſe Proportions which might be expected by thoſe who were at a diſtance from the Fountain of Management. My Lord *Verulam* in his *Hiſtory of Henry* VII. takes notice of the Inequality of his Executions and Pardons upon different Occaſions; and obſerves that Men might think it a kind of Lottery or Chance: But looking into it more narrowly, *ſays he,* one ſhall find there was Reaſon for it, much more perhaps than at ſo great a Diſtance of Time we can now diſcern. In the *Kentiſh* Commotion in that Reign, which conſiſted of but a Handful of Men, there were executed no leſs than 150; and yet in another mighty Rebellion in his time, that of the *Corniſh* Men, where there had been Sixteen Thouſand in Arms, only three Perſons ſuffered. The Noble Hiſtorian is left to his Conjectures about the Reaſon of the Difference made: But they are worthy of Remark as he goes on; Whether it were, that the King put to Account the Men that were ſlain in the Field, (in the *Corniſh* Inſurrection) or was not willing to be ſevere in a Popular

Cauſe; or whether the harmleſs Behaviour of theſe People that came from the Weſt of *England* to the Eaſt without any Miſchief almoſt or Spoil to the Country, did ſomewhat mollify him and move him to Compaſſion; or laſtly, that he made a great Difference between People that rebell'd upon Preſſure and Extremity, and them that rebelled upon Wantonneſs.

In Modern Times, and the moſt celebrated Inſtances of Lenity, Limitations have been carefully remembred. The general Pardon at the Reſtoration, 12 *Car.* II. "excepts all Of-
"fences committed by any Jeſuit or Romiſh
"Prieſt againſt an Act of 12 *Elizabeth* againſt
"Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and other diſobedi-
"ent Perſons. In the ſame Act Forty Nine
"were excepted abſolutely and by Name. And
"the two Perſons that appeared diſguiſed
"upon the Scaffold at *Whitehall*, *January* 30.
"1648. And four more that were dead. It
"was alſo provided, that that Act ſhould
"not diſcharge the Eſtates of Twenty four o-
"ther Perſons deceaſed, from ſuch Penalties
"and Forfeitures as by an Act of Parliament
"intended to be paſt ſhall be declared. Seve-
"ral others are excepted, for ſuch Pains
"and Penalties only, not extending to Life,
"as by an Act to be paſſed for that purpoſe
"ſhould be impoſed. Eighteen are ſo far ex-
"cluded alſo, as that if they did ever accept
"or exerciſe any Office or Publick Employ-
"ment in *England* or *Wales* or the Town of
"*Berwick* upon *Tweed*, they ſhould ſtand as if
"they were totally excepted out of that Act.
"And the like of ſeveral others. All Perſons
"like-

" likewiſe, who were attainted by Act of Par-
" liament for Rebellion, were exempted from
" the Benefit of that Act." No thinking Perſon therefore can judge it ſtrange, whether he conſiders former Preſidents or the Reaſon of the Thing, if the Wiſdom of the Adminiſtration ſhould ſet ſome Bounds to Mercy in the preſent Conjuncture. Even Divine Mercy itſelf is not given at random, without Regard to the Quality of the Object. Pardon upon Repentance and Amendment is the Grace of a God; and 'tis Honour enough to the Grace of a King to be the Image of that which is Divine. If Men, who ſhew no Marks of Remorſe for the Part they have acted againſt their Prince, and continue aſſociated with the Pretender, ſhould go without a ſhare in the Royal Indulgence; none can have the Face to complain of it, but thoſe who love the Treaſon; eſpecially if ſuch ſhould be exempted, as by their Popularity might give diſturbance, and evidently diſcover an Inclination to uſe all the Influence they have to the Common Miſchief. Who can think thoſe in a Diſpoſition for Mercy, who expreſs themſelves in the following Language, at leaſt till they come to change their Note? " The Time may
" come, and I hope will yet come, (ſays
" the Earl of *Mar* in his *Journal* * printed at
" *Paris*) when God in his Mercy (he knows
" what a Judgment it muſt be to the whole
" Nation) will open the Eyes and turn the
" Hearts of theſe Nations to a Senſe of their

* Patten's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion. p.* 270.

" Duty, and not permit ſo accompliſh'd a Per-
" ſon to be always unfortunate: But how-
" ever it ſhall pleaſe Providence to diſpoſe of
" him; this I can aſſure you, and you may
" rely upon it, that as his Right is indefeaſi-
" ble, he is firmly reſolv'd, by the Help of
" Almighty God, to aſſert it, whenever he
" finds a *fit Opportunity*, and never to depart
" from it but with his Life." Such as are waiting for *fit Opportunities* to renew their Attempt, will certainly be kept at Arm's length.

The Government alſo knows beſt, what legal Securities can be given in this Matter by the ſuſpected, or taken againſt them; who are proper to be excepted by Name, and who in Effect; under what Limitations ſome ſhould receive this Favour, or under what Incapacities for future Truſt and Power in the Publick. 'Tis a little odd to ſee Men, who have but lately and narrowly eſcap'd the Halter, make a buſtle in Publick Aſſemblies, puſh for Poſts of Direction in their Pariſhes, and bullying it in the Places of Concourſe and Debate. I ask'd the other Day, who that Gentleman was that diſcover'd ſuch an Inclination above all the reſt of the Company, to make free with the Conduct of the Government; and was told, to my great Surprize, he was one who ow'd his Life, Liberty and Fortune, to the Gentleneſs of the Adminiſtration, in dropping the Advantages it had againſt him.

The Wiſdom of thoſe now at the Helm cannot fail to take the Precautions neceſſary: And then there will ſeem but one Thing more deſirable, to compleat both the Security and the Satisfaction of an Act of Grace: and that is,

to

to ſtrengthen the Hands and rejoice the Hearts of Thoſe who are the ſure and try'd Friends of the Government, by releaſing them from their remaining Fetters and Grievances: Which, while it would enable them to bear a Share in the common Joy, would provide a conſiderable Balance on the Government's Side, againſt all future Attempts of the Diſaffected. 'Tis unaccountable, that any who have declar'd Themſelves in the Whiggiſh Intereſt, ſhould pretend to make a Merit of oppoſing any Intentions to remove the Incapacities of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and yet declare at the ſame Time their higheſt Approbation of what has been deliver'd from the Throne, concerning an Act of Grace to Rebels and Traitors.

What Shadow of Reaſon can ſupport their preſent Management? Are the Diſſenters more dangerous to the State, than thoſe who are like to come within the preſent Indulgence? Can they be charged with any Principles ſubverſive of the Government, like the Rebels and High-flyers? Or can it be pretended, that the Church it ſelf, as Proteſtant, is more in Danger from the Proteſtant Diſſenters, who own its Articles, Sacraments and Miniſters, than from a Set of Men, who have now thrown the utmoſt Contempt upon them all? Or can theſe Men ſay, that the Diſaffected are reduc'd to a ſmall Number, and may eaſily be kept under, therefore there is no Danger in ſetting them at Liberty; but the Diſſenters are ſtrong and numerous, and not to be truſted with their Hands unty'd? They themſelves have talk'd ſo much a little while ago the contrary way, of the Fewneſs and Inſignificancy of the Diſſenters,

ſenters, and of the Multitude of Diſaffected Perſons both to the King and Biſhops, that their own frequent Declarations will turn againſt them. Do they think to bring the Party they now court, to be Supporters of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution? They know too well, that their leading Men are riveted in Notions utterly deſtructive to it.

Ay, but they are not for having theſe Men brought into Places of Truſt any more than the Diſſenters. Agreed: But why then muſt they be made *capable* of them, when the Diſſenters are not? Or why may not the Diſſenters be deliver'd from Legal Incapacities too, and yet by the Wiſdom and Care of theſe Men be kept out of ſuch Places, whereever it is fit they ſhould be excluded; as well as That other Set of People, who are to be kept out it ſeems by meer Dint of Intereſt, Principle and Management, while yet they are allowed a Legal Capacity?

But the Diſſenters are out of the Pale of the Church, and ſo have caſt themſelves out of the Family; therefore ought not be treated as the genuine Sons of the Church and Children of the Family are, however guilty of ſome rebellious and diſobedient Actions. Do they mean, that they are not Chriſtians, or not Proteſtants? or only that they are not in the National Eſtabliſhment? They muſt produce other Proofs for the former, than have yet been advanc'd, before they make any Impreſſion on thoſe who judge of Chriſtianity by the Rule of it, or of the Proteſtant Religion by the known Principles of thoſe who avow'd it from the Beginning. For the National Eſtabliſh-

ment,

ment, I'll only ſay this, That 'tis very hard firſt to turn them out of the Family, then ſay they don't belong to it, and therefore take their Portion from them to divide among themſelves; and then, inſtead of any thing like a Reſtitution, upbraid them with the Loſs of their Rights.

But under the preſent happy Adminiſtration, there can be no room to entertain a Thought, that there is Grace for no body but Enemies. On the contrary, if for ſome unknown Reaſons of State, they are firſt inveſted in the Privileges of *Engliſhmen*, every one will conclude, that Subjects of untainted Loyalty ſhall not long remain forgotten after them.

FINIS.



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—— II. Letters to the Author.
—— III. Of Plots.
—— IV. Of removing the Incapacities of Proteſtant Diſſenters.
—— V. Of Political Friendſhip.

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THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. VII.

THE PRETENSIONS FOR AN Absolute Power OF THE CHURCH CONSIDER'D:

Being an ANSWER to some of the most Considerable OBJECTIONS against IMPARTIAL LIBERTY.

Οτι δεῖ τῶν ἀκροατῶν δικιμάζειν τὰ παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων λεγόμενα· καὶ τὰ μὲν συμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς, δέχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀλλότρια ἀποβάλλειν. *Basil.* Tom. II. Reg. LXXII. p. 372.

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AN
ANSWER to OBJECTIONS
AGAINST
Impartial Liberty.

THE Controverſy about *Church Power*, and *Chriſtian Liberty*, is of the greateſt Conſequence to the Proteſtant Religion in the World. It muſt ſtand and fall with the Iſſue of this Debate. *Popery* has no other Foundation than the Abſolute Power of the Church; nor has the *Proteſtant Religion* any other, than Impartial Liberty, in ſearching the Scriptures. It's a good Omen however to the Cauſe of Liberty, to ſee what Defenders it has on the One Side, and what ſort of Oppoſers on the Other. May every Cauſe I value, be ever ſo defended, and ſo oppoſed! One would think the famous Diſpute between *Michael* and the Devil, were fought over again in the Perſons of Men; there is ſo much of the *railing Accuſation* on the One Side, and ſo much of the *Angel* Temper on the Other. *Tannerus*, *Valentia*, and *Bellarmine*, and other Advocates for the Tyranny of Mother Church, wrote

with ſome Conſiſtency: They underſtood their Cauſe, and made the beſt on't; but the Preſent Patrons of *Engliſh Popery*, are neither underſtood by Themſelves nor any Body elſe: unleſs a Man can underſtand *Abſolute Power of the Church, conſiſtent with the Liberty of Private Judgment*; and that *the Church has a Right in it ſelf to be abſolutely obeyed, upon Conditions and Limitations:* And that *there is an indiſpenſable Obligation upon the Subjects of Chriſt, to an abſolute Obedience to the meer Authority of the Church, in ſome Inſtances*; which indiſpenſable Obligation is diſpenſed with, it ſeems, in ſome other Inſtances. Now when I meet with the *Conditions* upon which the *Abſolute* is founded, and the *Diſpenſation-Inſtances* of an *Indiſpenſable Authority*, I immediately ſay with my ſelf, Lord grant that I may have to do with ſuch as *Bellarmine*, &c. or any that know what they would be at! I deſpair of coming at the State of the Controverſy from ſuch Writers as theſe, who manage indeed as if they had an abſolute Authority to talk Nonſence with due Limitations and Reſtrictions.

I have a Correſpondent, that has ſtated his Pretenſions for the Abſolute Power of the Church, or his Objections againſt the Liberty of Private Judgment, in a Manner that ſhews his Meaning; without ſhuffling backward and forward, ſaying and unſaying; to whom I am to return an Anſwer in the following Letter.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have always thought it an Eſſential of the Proteſtant Doctrine, that when a Chriſtian has uſed the beſt Means in his Power to examine and find out the Truth, he has a Right to the Liberty of judging for himſelf, and that this belongs to every individual Chriſtian; who for the certain Information of his own Judgment, and the full Satisfaction of his Conſcience, may, and ought to try by the Word of God, not only the Doctrines of Particular Paſtors, but the Decrees of Councils; and ſo far as he finds them agreeable to the Word of God, to receive them; and ſo far as they are otherwiſe, to reject them.

You have a many Objections againſt this Doctrine, and ſo have a great many of the Clergy; who having got up by this very Doctrine into the Benefices of the Popiſh Clergy, are for pulling up the Ladder after them. Your firſt Objection is in theſe Terms.

'*This Private Judgment has been the Cauſe of all Errors, Hereſies and Schiſms; has led People into thoſe Sects and Diviſions which Men would not be in Danger of, if obliged to adhere to the Publick and Eſtabliſhed Faith.*

Sir, You ſhould have taken your Riſe a little higher, and have told us, that it is *Thinking* that is in the Fault. *Thinking* is the Cauſe of *Judging*, Judging the Cauſe of *Error, and Hereſy, and Schiſm*, Ergo, away with Thinking; and the rather, becauſe where Men will but Implicitly adhere to the Publick and Eſtabliſhed Faith, there is no need for *thinking* at all; for they who judge for me have thought for me already; and what need I think for my ſelf, when I muſt not judge for my ſelf? You

You ſhould have told me, what this ſame *Hereſy* and *Schiſm* are; or elſe, I ſhall fall to thinking about them for my ſelf. I ſhall think *Schiſm* to be, not the differing from any others in Opinion; nor Separation from them, if it were only for my Convenience; but the uncharitable Quarrelling with them upon that Difference, and cenſuring them for it. In ſhort, the Raviſhing away from a Chriſtian his Liberty of Private Judgment, has, in my Mind, a great deal of Schiſmatical in it. Schiſms and Diviſions do not ariſe from different Opinions, but from ſuch claſhing Tempers and Intereſts in Men, as won't allow of ſuch differences; and beſides, where there is a pretended Oneneſs and Agreement in Opinions, yet we ſee the moſt ſcandalous Quarrels, Schiſms and Factions.

Hereſy is a word of ambiguous Sence. You know, how it changes with the Climate. In *Italy* it is to deny Tranſubſtantiation; in *England*, it varies with the Company a Man goes into. With Doctor *Hickes* and *his Church*, the Revolution Church is Heretical. *You now ſee the three great Impediments that hinder us* (ſays the Doctor) *from joining with the Revolution-Church of England*, Schiſm, Hereſy, and unrighteous Devotions. *We charge that Communion with being like the Church of* Rome, *corrupt in its* Doctrine, Worſhip, and Miniſtry *. I am very much inclined to think, that to aſſert the *abſolute Power* of the Church is *Hereſy*; not only becauſe it is contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, which diſclaims ſuch Power; but becauſe it ſeems to me to come

* *Dr.* Hickes's *Collect. of Papers*, p. 313.

within

within the beſt Account of Hereſy I have met with, *viz.* That by Hereſy we are to underſtand, ſuch Error which *is Deſtructive of true Religion, and of the Souls of Men*; neither of which has been ſo effectually done, as where this Power has moſt prevailed; where Religion is deſtroyed for the Good of the Church, and the People *periſh for lack of Knowledge*, in a moſt obedient manner.

Thoſe Errors, which you, Sir, would call Hereſy, may be run into by a Publick Judgment and Authority, as well as a Private. Whether we look to Synods or National Councils, Conſiſtories, or Convocations; it is eaſy to produce Inſtances of the greateſt and worſt Errors that have prevail'd in theſe. 'Tis plain to every ones Underſtanding, that if every ſingle Perſon in theſe Collective Bodies be liable to Error, the whole Body may be ſo too; for, the greateſt Number of Fallibles can no more make one Infallibility, than the greateſt Number of Finites can make one Infinite. Religion it may be has been, and is corrupted by thoſe in Authority, as well as by Private Perſons; ay, and I won't ſcruple to add, is as likely to be ſo. This Objection then will hold againſt publick as well as private Judgment. Take away the Liberty of Private, and the Danger is infinitely greater. A private Judgment can infect none that are not willing to take it, or led into it by Conviction; but a Publick Impoſition ſpreads far and wide, carries along with it vaſt Numbers; nay, muſt carry all along with it. Such Hereſies by this Means will be much more effectually propagated to ſucceeding Generations: For where will theſe *Conſcience Drivers* allow a Man to ſtop and judge for himſelf?

ſelf? A private Perſon falling into this or the other Error, can never be of ſuch dangerous Conſequence, as the Publick running into it. The One is only a Diſeaſe in a ſingle Perſon, or Family, the Other ſweeps away Thouſands; while the ſingle Perſon muſt not recover alone neither, tho' they have hit upon the right Thing for their Cure. Nay, ſuch is the Caſe here, that ſuppoſe the Publick Judgment Heretical, and the private Perſon's Opinion true, yet the private Opinion ſhall be branded with the Name of Hereſy, and the Publick aſſume to it ſelf the Character of Truth and Orthodoxy. Now unleſs we could be ſure of this, that whatſoever the Publick calls Truth or Hereſy, was certainly ſuch; Private Judgment differing from the Publick, will no more indanger the promoting of Error, than it may occaſion the finding out of Truth. The publick Decree can neither make an Opinion true or falſe. The Opinion of Men cannot any-Way affect the Nature of Things, to make them otherwiſe than what they really are; conſequently, no Opinion can *make* Truth, or neceſſarily *determine* what ſhall be ſo. Truth will be Truth, whatever the Opinions of Men concerning it may be.

But, ſay you, *the Publick Opinions are more likely to be true, than thoſe of any Private Man.* I muſt declare, that I think otherwiſe; perhaps what becomes the Publick Opinion, is often owing, Only to the Power, ambitious and ſubtle Management of One ſingle Man. Or, what if it be two or three Crafts-Maſters, who knew how to get their own Opinions ſtamp'd with the Publick Seal? Thoſe who ſit in Conſultation with them about ſuch Opinons, are

are more likely to be perverted by wrong Ends and Motives, than thoſe who are ſeriouſly weighing and conſidering Things in private. The utmoſt Deference we owe to publick Opinions, I take to be this, to give them a due Conſideration, with an humble and unprejudiced Mind, to reconſider this, and hearken to all that is to be ſaid for the Support of this; and if after all, I ſhould ſee the Publick burn ſuch a Man for his private Opinion, or do him any Harm meerly on that Account, I ſhould not ſtick to call his Executioners Murderers, or Robbers, whatever Outcry they made againſt his Hereſy; and I had rather be in the Place of the Heretick, ſo call'd, than in that of his Abuſers.

Beſides, this Argument is calculated for all Meridians, and I believe is uſed in all; at *Rome*, at *Conſtantinople*, *London*, *Geneva*, *Edinburgh*, every where doubtleſs it is urged, that the publick Opinions are moſt likely to be true; and ſo I muſt be a *Papiſt* at *Rome*, a *Mahometan* at *Conſtantinople*, and ſo reſpectively a *Presbyterian* at *Edinburgh*, and an *Epiſcopalian* at *London*, and every thing, every where; for tho' the *Evidence* for theſe Publick Opinions to be ſure is not equal, yet the Argument purely from its being the *publick*, is equally ſtrong. For when you comply upon Evidence, you quit the Argument of its being the Publick Opinion, and go into the Merits of the Cauſe.

You are pleaſed to ask, *How there can be any ſuch thing as Error or Hereſy at all, upon the Scheme of private Judgment; ſince if that were the appointed Rule, every private Opinion would be equally right, becauſe equally agreeable to the appointed Rule.* And then you add, that *Atheiſm*

ſelf? A private Perſon falling into this or the other Error, can never be of ſuch dangerous Conſequence, as the Publick running into it. The One is only a Diſeaſe in a ſingle Perſon, or Family, the Other ſweeps away Thouſands; while the ſingle Perſon muſt not recover alone neither, tho' they have hit upon the right Thing for their Cure. Nay, ſuch is the Caſe here, that ſuppoſe the Publick Judgment Heretical, and the private Perſon's Opinion true, yet the private Opinion ſhall be branded with the Name of Hereſy, and the Publick aſſume to it ſelf the Character of Truth and Orthodoxy. Now unleſs we could be ſure of this, that whatſoever the Publick calls Truth or Hereſy, was certainly ſuch; Private Judgment differing from the Publick, will no more indanger the promoting of Error, than it may occaſion the finding out of Truth. The publick Decree can neither make an Opinion true or falſe. The Opinion of Men cannot any-Way affect the Nature of Things, to make them otherwiſe than what they really are; conſequently, no Opinion can *make* Truth, or neceſſarily *determine* what ſhall be ſo. Truth will be Truth, whatever the Opinions of Men concerning it may be.

But, ſay you, *the Publick Opinions are more likely to be true, than thoſe of any Private Man.* I muſt declare, that I think otherwiſe; perhaps what becomes the Publick Opinion, is often owing, Only to the Power, ambitious and ſubtle Management of One ſingle Man. Or, what if it be two or three Crafts-Maſters, who knew how to get their own Opinions ſtamp'd with the Publick Seal? Thoſe who ſit in Conſultation with them about ſuch Opinons, are

are more likely to be perverted by wrong Ends and Motives, than thoſe who are ſeriouſly weighing and conſidering Things in private. The utmoſt Deference we owe to publick Opinions, I take to be this, to give them a due Conſideration, with an humble and unprejudiced Mind, to reconſider this, and hearken to all that is to be ſaid for the Support of this; and if after all, I ſhould ſee the Publick burn ſuch a Man for his private Opinion, or do him any Harm meerly on that Account, I ſhould not ſtick to call his Executioners Murderers, or Robbers, whatever Outcry they made againſt his Hereſy; and I had rather be in the Place of the Heretick, ſo call'd, than in that of his Abuſers.

Beſides, this Argument is calculated for all Meridians, and I believe is uſed in all; at *Rome*, at *Conſtantinople*, *London*, *Geneva*, *Edinburgh*, every where doubtleſs it is urged, that the publick Opinions are moſt likely to be true; and ſo I muſt be a *Papiſt* at *Rome*, a *Mahometan* at *Conſtantinople*, and ſo reſpectively a *Presbyterian* at *Edinburgh*, and an *Epiſcopalian* at *London*, and every thing, every where; for tho' the *Evidence* for theſe Publick Opinions to be ſure is not equal, yet the Argument purely from its being the *publick*, is equally ſtrong. For when you comply upon Evidence, you quit the Argument of its being the Publick Opinion, and go into the Merits of the Cauſe.

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it ſelf has a good Plea upon the Claims of a private Judgment. Sir, the Sophiſtry of this kind of Arguing, lies in confounding theſe two Words, a *Rule*, and a *Guide*. All *Proteſtants* profeſs to make the *Bible* the only *Rule*, in Matters of Religion; and their private Judgment has the Place of a *Guide* only, in underſtanding that Rule. And after you have bethought your ſelf of the Difference between a *Rule appointed*, which we all agree to be the Word of God; and a *Guide* in underſtanding the Mind of God, in that Rule, which is the Underſtanding and Judgment of a Man; I'll leave you to judge, what Plea Atheiſm can have upon ſuch a Scheme, as carries a Man, with his beſt Judgment and Underſtanding about him, to find out the Mind of God in his Word, as the only Rule. I perceive you would be very glad to be able to take off the Force of that Argument for impartial Liberty, that *it is the ſame Thing with making a New Bible for me, to impoſe their Senſe of the Old, whether I can diſcern it or no:* And more ſtill, when I diſcern the Contrary to be true, as is not ſeldom the Caſe between the Compellers and the Advocates of Liberty. You ſay, *If the Interpretation of Scripture be left to private Judgment, private Judgment does as much make Scripture for it ſelf, as an Authoritative Interpreter does for the Church: And the Meaning of the Scripture will be thereby ultimately reſolved into private Fancy; and is it not more likely for Ignorance or Prejudice to biaſs a ſingle Mind, and prevail in it, than with an Aſſembly of wiſe and good Men? Is not this to make ones private Fancy the Rule? And we ſee in the numerous Sects and Party among Chriſtians, that go off from the publick Faith, whither that Fancy will carry Men.* Sir, if for fear of being im-

impoſed upon, contrary to my Reaſon, Conſcience and Underſtanding, we renounce Authoritative Interpretations, does it follow, that therefore for fear of being miſtaken, I muſt renounce my Reaſon, Judgment and Underſtanding, and give it up to the Publick? I renounce Authoritative Judgment to avoid being impoſed upon; do I therefore impoſe upon my ſelf, when I judge for my ſelf, and am at liberty to turn into the right Way, whenever I perceive my ſelf in the wrong? In Judging for my ſelf, I may be miſtaken, ſo may your *Aſſembly of wiſe and good Men*, in judging for themſelves, and me too. In Judging for my ſelf, I may be miſtaken, but then I don't know it, and conſequently, if I have uſed all due Means, as it is every Ones Duty to do, I am innocent; but in the Compeller's Scheme, it's unavoidable, but I muſt ſometimes know, or fully believe, they are miſtaken, and yet muſt Aſſent to what I know, or believe to be Falſe; and conſequently, am an Hypocrite, a Knave, to avoid being an Heretick: I muſt proſtitute my Conſcience and Judgment to the Reputation and Conveniencies of what the major Part every where call Orthodoxy. He that judges for himſelf, impoſes upon no Body, nor upon himſelf at all; nor pays any difference to his own Judgment at all in this Matter, but to what he apprehends to be the Mind of Chriſt. And when this Senſe of the Text is apprehended to be the Mind of Chriſt, call his Apprehenſion, Fancy, or what you will, it is ſomething ariſing out of Evidence, and bears Proportion to it, and therefore 'tis the Mind of Chriſt here, to which the Homage is paid, and the Submiſſion made, and not his own Judgment. Beſides, God has

given me my own Reaſon and Judgment to be my Guide, and not that of another's, any farther than as that others inſinuates it ſelf into mine by Conviction, and then it becomes my own Men may as well repent, and go to Heaven by Proxy, as believe by Proxy; or to ſpeak more properly, aſſent to Things upon another's Reaſon only, that never becomes my own, in the Manner above-mentioned.

God has given a Revelation of his Mind, and our Reaſon and Judgment to underſtand it, and an Order of Men on purpoſe to help and aſſiſt that Judgment in underſtanding it. You ſee, Sir, I am not for demoliſhing that Inſtitution, under pretence of Judging for our ſelves. Certainly it is their Buſineſs to aſſiſt us in Judging for our ſelves, and not to pretend to judge for us, and impoſe upon us; but where has God appointed an authoritative Interpreter for the Church, and for all private Chriſtians? The grand Commiſſion we hear ſo often of, carries in it a Limitation that ought to run through all Ages of the World, *teaching them to obſerve whatſoever I have commanded.* Now the Buſineſs of all Miniſters, if they will act according to this, is to ſhow what is commanded; where it is ſo; and by what Evidence it appears to be Chriſt's Command: And when they have laid together all the ſtrength of their Evidence, that this and that is commanded by Chriſt, then to ſay with the Apoſtle, *I ſpeak as to wiſe Men, judge ye what I ſay*; and to commend all, as the Apoſtle did the *Bereans*, who like them, *ſearch the Scriptures to ſee* with their own Eyes, by the Help the Miniſtry has given them, *whether theſe Things be ſo or no*; and not preſently upon Demur, or Non-aſſent to run to *Anathema's*, and Cenſures, and talk

talk big of Authority of the Church, or call upon the ſecular Arm. Chriſt has appointed no ſuch Officer as an Authoritative Interpreter: If he had, it were a needleſs labour to ſtudy the Scriptures; it were enough to believe as he believed, as it is indeed enough to believe as the Clergy believe, if they were Authoritative Interpreters of the Scripture; and ſo we are come directly round to that Implicit Faith, exploded at the Reformation, *to believe as the Church believes.*

But it ſticks with you mightily, *That an Aſſembly of wiſe and good Men are more likely to come at the true Senſe of Scripture, than any ſingle Man, and leſs liable to Error and Miſtake, to Prejudice and Partiality.* And it ſticks with me too, the Difficulty of getting ſuch an Aſſembly, or if they come together under that Character, to continue them ſuch; and as for Prejudice and Partiality, in Aſſemblies of wiſe and good Men, we ſee they are as liable as others. Moſt of the Aſſemblies of this Nature, that ever I heard of, came together, not ſo much to form their own Notions from the Word of God, as to forge Creeds for other People, carry Points of Doctrine that might ſerve the Vices and Purpoſes of the preſent Occaſion; with their particular Sentiments fixed before-hand; not ſo much to enquire *what is Truth*, as to procure the Publick Sanction to what they had before thought or reſolved to be ſo; that is, in effect to be able to impoſe their private Sentiments upon People, by a Publick Vote of the Majority. And this it may be by Intrieguing, Cabalting, Promiſing, Threatning; by Party Views and Emulations, and oblique Regards to the Intereſt and Favour of the Great, the Influence

of

of a Court, or an Emperor, who according as He was *Arian* or Orthodox, knew very well how to inſpire the Oracle of a Publick Judgment, and to determine the Senſe of the Text, to which every Private Judgment muſt Aſſent. And why may not an honeſt and diligent Enquirer, with all the Helps God has afforded him, as certainly come at the true Senſe of Scripture, eſpecially when this Aſſembly have propoſed their Senſe, and left it with him freely to judge of; as well as by thus reſigning his Judgment to thoſe, who by ſuch Arts as theſe, find Means to get their own Private Judgment become the Publick one?

Have not Aſſemblies their Prejudices, Partialities, and Intereſts, and other common Infirmities of human Nature together, as well as when ſeparate in their reſpective Cloſets? Have they no unreaſonable Fondneſs for their own particular Opinions? No Temptations to tyrannize over the Minds of Others, when in their own Conceit, they are met together to interpret Scripture for them? Has it not plainly appeared in all the Conciliar Determinations and Interpretations that have been made in the Chriſtian Church, ſince the Apoſtolical Times, that the Spirit of Party has reigned; that Intereſt, Intriegue, and Management, have ſettled the Senſe of Scripture, from the Council of *Nice*, down to the Conventicle at *Trent*? The Publick Faith has been coined and paſſed upon the World, as they could get a Majority in a Synod, or an Intereſt at Court, or among the leading Prelates; that is, by Convocation-Craft? Now is Truth and Error to be determined by the Majority? May not the Minor Part be in the right? Does this Out-voting the Minor

Minor Part, ſtrip them of the right of Judging for themſelves? Is it fit that the Matters of Conſcience and Salvation, ſhould be made to depend upon ſuch Accidents as theſe? Accidents purely external and foreign to the Nature of Things? Which is the ſame ſtill, on which Side ſoever the Majority falls. As Truth and Goodneſs will be for ever the ſame, tho' the Majority of the World be againſt it: And conſidering the Corruption of human Nature, and that the Major Part of the World are in Error and Wickedneſs, I ſhould rather incline to ſuſpect the Majority Side, and expect to find the Truth ordinarily among the Few.

When wiſe and good Men only ſearch after Truth for themſelves, if they fall into an Error, they can correct it with eaſe, when convinced of the Miſtake; but how hard do we find it, to make an Aſſembly of Men retract an Error, when once it has been authoritatively defined? No, they muſt ſtand by it whatever it coſt, or weaken, if not renounce their Authority. Heaven and Earth are ranſacked for Arguments; the Secular Arm is called in to ſupport it; and all to avoid the Shame of a Retractation. And tho' there be never ſo good Reaſons for Retracting, or altering a Thing decreed, ſtill this has been known to out weigh all, we muſt not own our ſelves to have been in a Miſtake: And is this the likelieſt way to find out Truth, or avoid Error? When the Pride of not owning a Miſtake, ſhall be too hard for Demonſtration?

Why muſt an Aſſembly of wiſe and good Men be more free from Prejudice, and the Influence of a Private Judgment, when they are about to Interpret Scripture for others, than,

Men

Men equally Good and Wiſe, when endeavouring to find out the Sence of Scripture for themſelves? How comes it that an hundred Men, when ſtudying in their Cloſets, ſhall not be allowed to interpret the Scripture for themſelves by their own Private Judgment; but when that hundred Men are met together, they ſhall do it both for themſelves and for others? If you tell me of the Light ſtruck out by the Diſcuſſion and Debate of a Point; I anſwer, that then you place the Reaſon of Aſſent upon the right Foot, *viz.* the Evidence of the Thing, and the Conviction of each Man's Private Judgment, and not upon their Number or Authority; and conſequently, make the ſame Evidence or Conviction the Rule and Meaſure of other Peoples Aſſent, and ſo we are ſtill where we were. Free Debate is a Means of ſtriking out Light indeed, but there is ſo little of that uſually in thoſe Aſſemblies, where ſome are timerous and modeſt, others overbearing and inſolent; ſome are under the Awe of the Preſence of others; ſome have not the Courage to ſpeak, others not the Ability; ſome are reſolved to ſhew their Learning and Acuteneſs, in defending whatever they have advanced; ſome are intirely led, and reſolved to give themſelves no trouble about the Matter, but to follow the Major and the Ruling Party: Theſe are ſuch as *Thuanus* obſerves the Cardinal *Lorrain* was, who owned, that tho' *his Judgment was with the* German *Proteſtants, his Profeſſion muſt be according to the Decrees of the Council of* Trent.

But ſuppoſing ſuch Aſſemblies to be a more certain way of coming at the true Senſe of Scripture than by my ſelf, will this conſtitute them

them Publick Interpretets by Divine Authority? And if not, will their Interpretation ſuperſede my Inquiries? or excuſe me from ſearching into the Mind and Will of God my ſelf? I may allow them all the Regard due to a Body of wiſe and good Men; I may ſuſpect my own Sence, and incline to theirs; but muſt I abide by a Sence of Scripture, that after all, appears to me to be wrong? Or ſhall I acquit my ſelf to my own Conſcience, or anſwer it to God, if I acquieſce in their Sence, whether it be true or falſe? Is ſuch a Reſignation the Way to Knowledge, of what is contained in Scripture? Is it of no Importance, whether I underſtand Scripture or no? Or whether by my own Underſtanding, or that of another? Or can I underſtand it by another's Underſtanding, and not my own? Am I no farther accountable to the great Lord of my Conſcience and Underſtanding, than barely to receive the Interpretations of Men, pretending to this Authority? Will they bear me out at the Day of Judgment, if I pay ſuch Deference to them, as to err by their Authority? Or if they undertake ſo largely for me, will this Plea be allowed by our common Lord, and my Error and all its Conſequences, be charged upon them? If I muſt ſtand upon my own Bottom, and be directly accountable to my own Maſter, the Plea of Deference to their Authority will ſtand me in no ſtead. What would Men have then? Who with an Abſurdity and Cruelty that Popery it ſelf knows nothing of, firſt allow me a Bible for a colour, and awkwardly ſay, I muſt read and think; and yet when I have done that, I muſt give up my Underſtanding to Convocations, and Aſſem-

blies of wiſe and good Men? (*i. e.*) that I muſt believe in them, inſtead of believing *in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord.* For let any Man, if he can, tell of a greater Act of Faith or Worſhip, than to acquieſce in, and reſign to the Deciſions of Men, againſt our own Conſcience, Faith and Underſtanding. This is to believe in Men, and not in Chriſt. This is to call Men Maſters with a Vengeance: When I take my Faith, or rather Profeſſion of Faith from them, tho' at the ſame Time I inwardly apprehend it contrary to the Mind of him, who is my Maſter indeed. Were the Church to underſtand for me, I had nothing to do but to Wink hard, and give her my Hand, to be led about as ſhe pleaſes: But can it ever enter into any Man's Head, that this is all the Uſe which God requires him to make of his Underſtanding? Which is to put it out, and not to uſe it all. Will the Enquiry at the Day of Judgment be, what the Church believes, or what I believe? If the Enquiry will be about my own Faith, I muſt uſe my own Underſtanding, that I may have a Faith of my own; and tho' it is poſſible, in my beſt Enquiries, I may be miſtaken, yet I am doing my Duty; I am acting the Part of a Man and a Chriſtian. I may be miſtaken, and ſo have they been, and have interpreted Scripture againſt one another. There are Councils againſt Councils, and Fathers againſt Fathers. Nor can I be ſo ſure of their Sincerity in the Search after Truth, as of my own; nor can I believe that God has more certainly led them into the Sence of Scripture, who for ought I know, never honeſtly ſought it, than he has led me, of whoſe Integrity I am as well aſſured as I can be.

The

The Objectors againſt the Liberty of Private Judgment, preſs it as you imagine, with a farther Difficulty: For, ſay they, *upon ſuppoſal that Men have a Right to their own Sentiments, and that they ought not, it may be cannot, in the Nature of the Thing, ſubmit to a Publick Deciſion*; yet, *what Right have they to Publiſh and Propagate theſe Private Sentiments?* This, you are apt to think, is a Right very different from the former, and no ways included in it. But ſure they that argue at this rate, do not conſider, that if Men have a Right to their own Private Sentiments, they are under an Obligation to act according to them; for nothing can be more inconſiſtent and ridiculous, than to ſuppoſe a Man free in examining and receiving the Rule of his Conſcience, and yet bound afterwards not to uſe his Conſcience in the Conduct and Actions of his Life. This would be a more intolerable Tyranny than the taking away the Rule of Conſcience. For how hard ſoever it be to deprive Men of their Knowledge and Underſtanding, yet it is harder to force from them their Honeſty and Sincerity. The Objectors themſelves are obliged to give up this Argument in many Caſes. They allow the Apoſtles did well in rejecting this Advice, when the High-Prieſt commanded them not *to Preach at all, nor to Teach in the Name of Jeſus* *; and for this Reaſon, *that it ſpread no farther among the People* You cannot in Decency to the Proteſtant Reformation you profeſs, but own, that our firſt Reformers did well to diſcover, Themſelves, the monſtrous Errors and Corruptions of

* Acts iv.

the *Romiſh* Superſtition; and when they had diſcovered them, to endeavour that others might ſee them too, in order to have them reformed and amended. In ſhort, this ſeems a plain Caſe, that when a Man is well perſwaded of a Truth, and at the ſame time believes it of ſuch Importance, that it highly concerns the Happineſs and Good of others to know it, he is then engaged by all the Ties of Juſtice and Charity to his Neighbour, to promote the Knowledge of it; and make it as generally beneficial to Mankind as he can. There are few have the Face to deny this in a plain Caſe, and where a Truth is confeſſedly of great Importance; as the Doctrines of *Chriſtianity* were againſt Idolatry, and of the *Reformation* againſt Popery. And it is to be obſerved, that by the allowed ſuppoſal of this Objection, every Man is to determine for himſelf, what Truths are of ſuch Importance. For a Queſtion concerning the Importance of Truth, is as much a Matter of Private Judgment, as a Queſtion concerning Truth it ſelf. And the Right of Private Judgment is the ſame to judge of both. So that to allow a Man a Right to his own Private Sentiment, which is, upon Occaſion, to judge himſelf obliged, from the Importance of a Truth, to promote it in the beſt manner he can; and afterward to ſay, he has no Right to propagate his Sentiment, is to ſay, he has no Right to a Right already granted, or ſuppoſed; which is a ridiculous Inconſiſtency, as well as intolerable Tyranny.

Nor need we affright our ſelves with the ſuppoſed ſad Conſequences of ſuch a Right; as if immediately hereupon Peoples Minds muſt be diſtracted, the Unity of the Church diſturbed,

ed, the State embroiled; and that Incendiaries, under Pretence of uſing ſuch Liberty, will take the Opportunity of ſtarting new and dividing Sects and Opinions, and ſo the Emiſſaries of *Rome* be encouraged to make Advantage of our Diviſions. It muſt be owned this is a good popular Declamation, and may do to keep up a Pannick among the common People; which ſerve ſome Mens Ends, as well as a real Danger of Church or State. But it is to be obſerved, that it is an high Reflection on the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God to ſuppoſe, that he has ſo ill provided for the Unity of the Church, and the Peace of States, as to make them depend on ſuch bad Foundations, as an unjuſt Claim of Power by one Part, and an unreaſonable Submiſſion to that Claim on the other Part of Mankind: That the Unity of the Church, or Peace of State, is only to be ſecured by blind Submiſſion, without Examination, or Reaſon, to what the Fancy and Ambition of a few ſhall think fit to impoſe on the reſt. And in good Truth, whoever ſhall impartially examine, what it is that breaks the Unity of the Church, and Peace of the State in our Differences, will find, it is not a calm and fair Enquiry after Truth, but from the Paſſions of Men, and the Impatience of Oppoſition. Some are imperiouſly paſſionate for a Dominion over Mens Faith and Conſcience; others are warm'd in the juſt Defence of themſelves, againſt unreaſonable Attempts upon their Liberty; others have Views of Intereſt, which are only to be attained by perſecuting Schemes, which is generally among thoſe who muſt ſupply the want of Merit, by Party Recommendations. But how the Emiſſaries of *Rome* ſhould

ſhould make any Advantage of impartial Liberty, but what the Government could eaſily prevent, is a Myſtery to me; they may indeed hope to gain from our Diviſions, occaſion'd by making Parties for unlimited Church-Power: This is their Darling, and ſo much the ſame with them, and the Tranſition ſo eaſy, that in Fact they find it the beſt Topic they have, whereby to carry on their pretended Converſions among us; but it paſſes Underſtanding to conceive what they could gain by an avowed Liberty of private Judgment, if this did obtain impartially in all *Proteſtant* Churches, as it is the Foundation of the Reformation. It muſt be as a Millſtone about the Neck of Popery, that muſt ſink it to the bottom, and never permit it to riſe again.

But ſay you, againſt this Liberty of propagating of Sentiments, did not St. *Paul* direct, *Haſt thou Faith, have it to thy ſelf before God* *. The Apoſtle's Meaning appears plainly to be this; you know there is nothing in the *Jewiſh* diſtinction of Meats, *&c.* and that they are of no longer Obligation under the Goſpel. However, ſeeing there are many not fully ſatisfied of it, he ſhould not draw in ſuch Perſons by his Example into an Action, that would be Sin in them, becauſe of their Doubt in the Caſe; but avoid laying any Temptation in their Way, to eat Things accounted impure, till they ſhould be fully perſwaded in themſelves. But he never gave Direction, that they who had Faith, ſhould not endeavour to inſtruct ſuch as had not; and let them ſee the Truth, that the

* Rom. xiv. 22.

Goſpel

Goſpel had taken away all ſuch Diſtinctions. To produce this Text to this Purpoſe, is an Artifice to make Men leſs mindful of the true Meaning of it, *viz.* That however any Perſons are perſwaded of the Lawfulneſs of an Action, they ought not to preſs others, who ſcruple it, to the Uſe of it, by their Example or Authority, until they can convince their Judgment, and perſwade them of the Lawfulneſs of it.

But is it not contrary, ſay you, to the Apoſtle's Order, againſt *unruly and vain Talkers, whoſe Mouths muſt be ſtopped* *; and in God's Name, let all unruly and vain Talkers, however diſtinguiſh'd, have their Mouths ſtopped, as the Apoſtle directs; which is the only thing we are pleading for, *viz.* That they who are *able by ſound Doctrine, both to exhort and convince the Gainſayers*, may have Liberty ſo to do. It may ſhame *Proteſtants*, who have endeavour'd to pervert this Text, to conſider the Senſe a *Papiſt* has given of it; that *it is one Thing to command Silence by force of Authority, another Thing, by dint of Argument to ſtop a Man's Mouth, which is the Duty here required from the Biſhop* †. What's this to the making Men conceal their Judgments, by fear of Fines and Impriſonments, or ſtopping Mens Mouths by choaking them with a Halter?

You tell me at laſt, that the Reaſonings of Men, however plauſible, proceed often from Looſeneſs and Corruption; *but whatever the Scripture have bound down upon us, muſt be ſubmitted*

* Tit. x. 11.

† Eſtius in loc. *Aliud eſt ſilentium indicere, quod eſt Imperantis, aliud redarguendo cuipiam os obſtruere, quod Officium hic ab Epiſcopo exigitur.*

to. Sir, I own what the Scripture hath bound down upon us muſt ſubmitted to; but I ſhall not eaſily own that to be the Scripture which is contrary to true and ſolid Reaſon, and ſuch as does not proceed from Looſeneſs and Corruption of Mind; and I could tell you where this very Form of Words has been uſed to recommend Tranſubſtantiation. You proceed to quote the Paſſages which you think ſupport this Power in the Church; Paſſages that have been quoted by every Pamphleteer, that has medled in this Controverſy, without the leaſt Regard to what has been ſaid to them in Reply; as if their Buſineſs were to repeat the ſame Thing over and other, knowing that there are ſome in the World that may be deceived, and others that may be frighted: Paſſages that the *Romiſh* Church have laid claim to, and made miſerable Work with; and indeed every Church will claim as well as you; and then the Conſequence is, that the Scripture furniſhes oppoſite Churches with Power to enjoin contradictory Sentiments, or you muſt make out your peculiar Right in excluſion of all other Churches upon Earth.

There is one Text in the Old Teſtament, from whence you would conclude, that the Magiſtrate is to aſſiſt the Church in the execution of this Power it claims over the Conſciences of Men. The Text is *Job* xxxi. 28. where ſpeaking of Idolatry, or the Worſhipping the Sun and Moon, he adds, *This alſo were an Iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judges, for I ſhould have deny'd God, who is above*; (*i. e.*) Virtually, and by Conſequence, becauſe it would rob God of the Worſhip which is proper to him: This is reckoned the more Conſiderable, becauſe it is ranged

ged with Adultery, in *v.* 11. which is allowed to be a State Crime, and to be puniſhed with Civil Penalties. I anſwer, the Caſe of Adultery is unqueſtionably of a Civil Nature; 'tis Injury and Wrong to another's Property, and tends to publick Confuſion and Diſorder; and ſo is worthy of a Civil Puniſhment, for the Peace and Welfare of the State at preſent, beſides the Threatnings of God againſt it, which regard the Individual himſelf. *Judah* would have had *Tamar* brought forth and burnt. The Caſe of *Idolatry* is of another kind, becauſe it only affects the Perſon guilty of it, and not another; and renders him guilty before God, not before the Civil Judge; unleſs the Idolatry here mention'd, which infers the Denial of God above, ſhould be ſuppoſed to affect the Safety and Security of the State, and then no doubt is as proper to be puniſh'd as Atheiſm and Blaſphemy, and for the ſame Reaſon. But farther, the Word *Puniſh* is not in the *Hebrew* Text, and is rendred in the vulgar *Latin* by *Iniquitas Maxima*; and by the Seventy thus, τὸ τοῦτο μοὶ ἄρχ ἀνομία ἡ μεγίστη λογισθεὶη, *it ſhall be acccounted the greateſt Iniquity*; as it muſt needs be a great Impiety to worſhip any thing but the true God, being contrary to Reaſon and the Light of Nature, as well as Scripture Revelation; and would be ſo accounted by every one, and eſpecially in ſuch an one as *Job*; for he ſeems to ſpeak in his own Caſe, and what it would be in ſuch a Circumſtance as his.

But what is all this to *Speculative Opinions*, or *Modes of Worſhip?* or even to a Man conſcientious, and really perſwaded in his own Mind, tho' miſtaken? It is not conceivable that Civil Puniſhment is ſuitable to ſuch a Caſe, or like to prove effectual; nor is it, I believe, leſs pro-

voking to God, than the Crime it puniſhes; for nothing but Reaſon and Evidence can work Conviction, or change the Mind.

In the New Teſtament you produce the ſeveral parallel Places to *Matt.* xvi. 19. *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, plainly ſignify no more, than that St. *Peter* ſhould open the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, and *firſt* publiſh the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, as we find he did at *Pentecoſt*, and to *Cornelius*; and that accordingly, whatſoever Inſtitutions and Appointments he ſhould ſettle by the Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, as a prime and extraordinary Miniſter of his Kingdom, ſhould be ratify'd by God, and obligatory upon the Church; and whatſoever they ſhould diſcharge them from, they ſhould accordingly ſtand diſcharged from any Obligation to the Obſervance of; as the carnal Ordinances of the *Jewiſh* Worſhip, and the Laws of Sacrifices, Meats, and Days, *&c.* Accordingly, one thing that this very St. *Peter* has looſed the Church from, is, this lordly domineering Power of Men, you bring this Text to ſupport. 1 *Pet.* v. 3. *Neither as being Lords over God's Heritage, but Enſamples to the Flock.* conſequently, it is looſed in Heaven; and yet what a Noiſe is there, and what a Clamour raiſed againſt the Divine Authority in Heaven and Earth, for maintaining this domineering Power which Heaven has looſed us from? The Apoſtle *Paul*, by the ſame Power of *binding and looſing*, has bound upon the Chriſtian Churches the Obligation of *receiving one another, but not to doubtful Diſputations*, Rom. xiv. and that no Man *ſhould judge his*

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Brother for Meats and Drinks; but *judge this rather, that no Man put a Stumbling-block, or an Occaſion to fall in his Brother's Way*; *nor deſtroy him for Meats* (i. e.) indifferent Things, *for whom Chriſt dy'd*; and conſequently, this Duty is *bound in Heaven*; but can all this bind up the Hands and Tongues of thoſe Uſurpers, who are ſo full of this binding Power? and who act upon it, as if they could bind others to what Sence of a Text they pleaſed, and looſe themſelves from any Obligation of the plaineſt Texts in the World? It's plain, that the Apoſtles have by the Power of *binding and looſing*, *looſed* and diſcharged Chriſtians from ſuch Uſurpations, which that Power is ſo often quoted to ſupport.

So *Matt.* xviii. 17,18. he requires them to *tell the Church*: The Church hereupon is concluded to be the laſt reſort of Power and Authority: And he here ſpeaks to all the Apoſtles, what he had before ſaid to St. *Peter*, *Verily I ſay to you, whatſoever you ſhall bind in Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven*, &c. The Caſe here is plainly thus, if the offending Brother ſhall deſpiſe more private Admonitions, we muſt bring the Cauſe before the whole Church, or the Body of the People; that he may be rebuked and admoniſhed before many, and be brought to publick Shame; and if he is not made ſenſible of his Fault, and gained by this publick way of Reproof, you have done your utmoſt for his Recovery, and have nothing more to do with him; *Let him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publican*, (i. e.) one with whom you have no more to do as a Brother: But what then? Are not *Heathens* and *Publicans* to hear the Goſpel? Are we not bound to endeavour the Converſion of *Heathens*? Have *Chriſtians* any Privilege of knocking *Heathens* and *Publicans* o'th' Head, ca-

ſting them into Priſon, and taking away their Money? No, the Apoſtles were glad to preach to *Heathens* and *Publicans*, glad if they came within hearing; how then can being to us as an *Heathen and a Publican*, import a Power over the Man's Money, or Liberty, or Life? Does being a *Chriſtian* give a Power over the *Heathen*'s Pocket and Perſon? We have no more to do with him as a Brother, but we have even then as much to do with him as with an *Heathen* or a *Publican*, whoſe Converſion and Salvation we are by all Scripture-Methods to endeavour: And after all, it is here to be obſerved, that this was not for any *Speculative Opinion*, or *Modes of Worſhip*, but a Treſpaſs between Man and Man; and alſo that it was after all other Friendly and Chriſtian Methods had been uſed, in a more private Way.

The next Place you mention, is that in *John* xx. *Whoſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſoever Sins you retain, they are retained.* If this is to be underſtood of the *Forgiveneſs of Sin*, it can mean no more than Declarative, not Authoritative Forgiveneſs, and ſignifies what is properly Miniſterial, or a Declaration of Forgiveneſs, meaſured by the Standing Rules of the Goſpel, (*i. e.*) to all ſincere Penitents; not an abſolute Power and Authority: For that would infer this Abſurdity, that he had given the Miniſters of his Kingdom an Authority ſuperior to his own, and able to ſet it aſide; made them Kings and Rulers inſtead of himſelf, and over himſelf; to pardon thoſe by their Authority, who he has declared ſhall not be pardoned, and *vice verſâ*. Would he permit an abſolute Power of eternal Life over other Men, in the Hands of frail and fallible Men, ſo eaſily liable to Miſtakes and to many Paſſi-

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ons? But if it is underſtood of *Healing Diſeaſes*, the Effects of Sin, there is leſs Pretence ſtill; for ſo it reſpects the Concurrence of Divine Power, in effecting miraculous ones; for this is immediately connected with his *breathing upon them, ſaying, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, v. 22. (*i. e.*) in an extraordinary manner, for ſuch miraculous and extraordinary Purpoſes.

But what can you mean by quoting *Luke* xxii. 28. *I appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.* Was the Kingdom appointed to Chriſt of this World? Does he not expreſly ſay that it was not of this World? *I appoint unto you a Kingdom*, (*i. e.* a glorious Kingdom in Heaven, to them who follow me in my humble State, as the Father hath appointed a glorious Kingdom to me, as the Reward of my Sufferings: So it is Parallel to that of the Apoſtle; *If ſo be that we ſuffer with him, that we may alſo be glorified together.* And again, if *we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo Reign with him.* And this appears plain from the foregoing and following Context, *Ye are they who have continued with me in my Temptation, and I appoint to you a Kingdom*, &c. *that you may eat at my Table, in my Kingdom, and ſit on Thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of* Iſrael. Expreſſions often uſed, of the Honours and Dignities of the heavenly Kingdom; never of the Chriſtian Church. Or if we ſhould ſuppoſe it to refer to any Power in his Church on Earth, it can in reaſon be underſtood only of Miniſterial Power, not of proper Dominion; and of the peculiar Power of extraordinary Miniſters, not of the ſtanding and ordinary ones. Theſe no more ſignify Dr. *Hickes*'s Thrones, than the *Porphyry* Chair at *Rome*.

I find you have no other Paſſage in the Goſpels

ſpels that you think to your Purpoſe, and I commend your Prudence for not mentioning that of the Parable, *Compel them to come in* *: Which has been ſufficiently turned to the Shame and Confuſion of the *Compellers*; and demonſtrated, not to ſignify external Force, but Reaſon and Argument, and Perſwaſion: For the Servants † were ſent out to *bid* the Gueſts, and invite them to the Feaſt. So in *Mat.* xxii. 3. *And ſent forth his Servants to call them who were bidden to the Wedding,—as many as ye ſhall find, bid to the Marriage*, (*i. e.*) overcome their Prejudice; Backwardneſs, by powerful Reaſons and Importunities, the moſt oppoſite to Severity and Violence of any thing in the World.

To follow you from the Goſpels to the Epiſtles; there you find that Miniſters are required to *rebuke with all Authority*, and that People are to *obey them that have Rule over them.* What Abſolutely? and in every thing that their Conceit or Paſſion ſhall ſuggeſt? or ſo far forth as what they ſay is *diſcerned* to be the Mind of Chriſt? There is a Text delivered in a more abſolute Form, which yet I believe you will not allow to have ſuch an abſolute meaning; and that is, *Children obey your Parents in all Things.* Had it been ſaid, *People obey your Miniſters in all Things*, we ſhould have heard of it round the Year, as we do now of theſe ſort of Texts, whoſe Sounds are made uſe of to deceive and enſlave the People a Thouſand Times, for once that ever we hear of the Duty and Privilege of *judging for our Selves*; and of the Iniquity of *calling any Man Maſter but Chriſt Jeſus.* It's certain, that Miniſters are to act as thoſe who are commiſſioned to Reprove and Rebuke, to

* Luke xiv. 23. † ------ 17.

whom

whom it belongs as an Office; and People are to ſubmit to their juſt Reproofs, and obey them in doing, *what they make out to be the Peoples Duty.* And I wiſh we could ſee them oftner at this Work, of *Reproving and Rebuking with all Authority*; and then we ſhould oftner hear the Swearer and the obſcene Talker rebuked. But I have taken notice, that if a Ceremony be to be recommended, then, the Dignity and Authority of the Miniſtry; but when the Swearer, the Profane Talker, the Sabbath-breaker, the Sons of Violence, that are for *demoliſhing* every Body that differs from them; when theſe come in their way, as they often do, theſe Miniſters ſeem not to have their Authority about them.

The Apoſtle does indeed ſpeak of *coming to them with a Rod* *; but that is oppoſed to his *coming to them in Love, and in the Spirit of Meekneſs:* And may fitly ſignify, either ſevere Reproof for their Faults, (which by the way, he was able to ſhow were Faults;) the Proof of which is a neceſſary Antecedent to *rebuking with Authority*; or a caſting notorious and obſtinate Offenders out of the Church: Which he calls † *purging out the Old Leaven.* And the *Puniſhment that was inflicted of many* **; (*i. e.*) by the Suffrage of the whole Congregation. And this he calls a Man's *bearing his Judgment* ††, or his Cenſure paſs'd upon him, (*i. e.*) of Expulſion. The Apoſtle ſpeaks of *Delivering to Satan for the Deſtruction of the Fleſh, that the Spirit may be ſaved in the Day of the Lord* ‡‡, *and that they may learn not to blaſpheme* *. It is reaſonable to ſup-

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* 1 Cor. iv. 21. † ----- 7. ** 2 Cor. ii. 6.
†† Gal. v. 10. ‡‡ 1 Cor. v. 5. * 1 Tim. i. 20.

poſe

poſe from theſe Expreſſions, that the Devil was ſuffered to inflict ſome Puniſhment upon ſuch Sinners, (as he brought bodily Diſtempers upon *Job*) when they were caſt out of the Church. But then, either this was an *extraordinary* Power, peculiar to the Apoſtles, and to thoſe Times, as ſhould ſeem, by its requiring his *Preſence among them* in order to it; or the Crimes for which they were expell'd, had already given Satan ſo great a Power over them, that the Expulſion was only declaring to whom it appear'd they did belong. As to the Death of *Ananias*, the Blindneſs of *Elymas*, the Sickneſs and Death of the *Corinthians*, and other Temporal Puniſhments inflicted by the Apoſtles upon remarkable Oppoſers and Blaſphemers of the Goſpel; I anſwer, That the Occaſions were infinitely different from Scruples about *Modes of Worſhip*, and honeſt Miſtakes in ſome *ſpeculative Points of Doctrine*. And again, it was a miraculous and extraordinary Power, for ſpecial and peculiar Purpoſes; for the Confirmation of the Goſpel, and Conviction of Unbelievers. God owned their Miſſion and Doctrine by ſome ſevere Inflictions on wicked Men; and, as it is not unuſual, in the firſt great Inſtances of Tranſgreſſion, to make Examples of ſuch, *in Terrorem*; but then, as the Power of Miracles is ceaſed, with the Reaſon of it, it can be no Rule nor Warrant in ordinary Caſes. Extraordinary Inflictions were then more proper to convince the Mind, that a Doctrine is from God, than Temporal Penalties, in ordinary Caſes, can be to diſpoſe Men to receive particular Opinions in doubtful Matters. This is all I have now to ſay to your Objections. I am, *SIR*,

Yours, &c.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. VIII.

OF
REPUTATION.
AN
ESSAY,
Occasion'd by the
CONTROVERSY
BETWIXT
The Lord Bishop of *BANGOR*
And His OPPOSERS.

Nec minus Periculum ex magna, quam ex mala Fama.

Tacit. in Vit. Agricolæ.

LONDON:

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(Price Four-Pence.)

OF REPUTATION.

'TIS one Inſtance of great Degeneracy in the preſent Age, that ſo little regard is had to the *Reputation* of Men; or to *thoſe Things* by which a Reputation ought to be eſtabliſh'd. That which Some have been more concern'd about than their very Lives, Others make the Matter of their Sport: Whilſt the more gravely diſpos'd are ſetting themſelves with Solemnity to wound and deſtroy the Good Fame of All, who happen to be of a *different Party*, let their Characters be never ſo good or ſacred; and yet thro' Fancy or Intereſt, they try up Thoſe in their ſtead, that are far from deſerving to be ſo much as named with them.

I ſhould be glad to contribute any thing toward rectifying this Diſorder of the Times: To help Men to ſet a juſt Value upon their

Own and Others Reputation; governing their Thoughts in this Matter by a more generous regard to Real Worth and Merit. The *Controverſy* between the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, and his *Oppoſers*, will afford ſo many important and uſeful Things on this Subject, that I hope my Reader will not be diſpleas'd to find moſt of the following Pages fill'd up with Remarks upon it.

Reputation muſt be founded upon Merit or Excellence; but really conſiſts in the *Opinion* which Others have of that Merit, and the Repreſentations generally given. The ſtrict Notion of Reputation may lye in the good Thoughts that Men have of us; but in common Acceptation it often ſignifies, the *publiſhing* of ſuch Thoughts, and communicating them from one to another: It includes both Eſteem and Praiſe. The *Fund* of Reputation is as large as the whole Sphere of Excellence, natural and moral: It takes in all conſiderable Endowments of Nature, all the uſeful Acquirements of Art, and the whole Compaſs of Real Virtue. But the *Thing it ſelf* lies wholly in the Breaſts or Mouths of Others; in their good Opinion, or good Account of us; when we are honourably thought of, and commended for ſome diſtinguiſhing Capacity, extraordinary Acquirements, uſeful Performance, or ſhining Virtue. If a Man was Solitary and Unknown, how excellent or virtuous ſoever he might be, He could not be ſaid to have a Reputation. Nor, where Men are known to deſerve it, is the World ſo juſt as always to give it.

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However, where there is real Worth and Deſert, Reputation is a Piece of natural Juſtice: For 'tis only thinking equally of Things, and having a due Eſteem of Another's Excellence: 'Tis a Copying Nature, and a Juſtneſs of Sentiment. And 'tis certainly a croſſing upon Nature, and a piece of natural Injuſtice, to think meanly and diſparagingly of conſpicuous Merit, exemplary Goodneſs, and great Atchievements. The good Opinion of Others, founded upon real Merit, is one of the nobleſt and moſt reaſonable Satisfactions of Life. The wiſer *Heathens* valued their Reputation more than any outward Poſſeſſions, and above their Lives. They had rather ſpill their Blood than ſuffer a Spot upon their Fame; eſpecially upon the brighter Parts of their Character, or their more peculiar Excellencies and Exploits: They have often ſhew'd a mighty Ambition to ſurvive in Fame, and to have an honourable Eſteem handed down to Poſterity. The wiſe King ſeems to have the ſame Opinion of it, in thoſe Aphoriſms, *A Good Name is like a precious Ointment*; and is *rather to be choſen than great Riches.* They who make lighteſt of *Others* Reputation, and treat it with Coldneſs or Injuſtice; yet never fail to ſhew uneaſy Reſentments when they meet with any thing that touches their *Own.*

Reputation therefore is worth a Man's ſtanding up for. Beſides what I have mention'd already, 'tis alſo farther to be conſider'd, that it gives a Man Singular Advantages for more Conſiderable and Extenſive Uſefulneſs. The Weight of Affairs in the ſeveral

ſeveral Employments of Life, depends upon the Credit we have with Others, and the Opinion that is entertain'd of our Integrity and Capacity. Men of Reputation will be more employ'd and more regarded than Others, in the different Sorts of Buſineſs which they profeſs. 'Tis a being Reputed for ſome particular Excellence, or great Deſert, that has commonly given Riſe to thoſe Dignities, Honours and Advancements, by which Perſons or Families are diſtinguiſh'd in the World. By this a Man is render'd capable of greater Good to Others, as well as to himſelf: Reputation gives him a favourable Hearing in what he has to offer; diſpoſing the World to cloſer Attention, and a more unprejudic'd Regard. 'Tis a Spur to Diligence and Emulation, and the moſt kindly Motive that a generous Mind can have, to bold Undertakings and brave Deſigns: So that to injure a Man's Reputation, is, at once, to narrow his Sphere of Activity, and diſpirit his Mind.

Yet neither the real Value of the Thing it ſelf, nor the many important Conſequences of its being preſerv'd or loſt, can ſecure it againſt the Attacks of Deſigning and Ill Men. How many are the Ways by which a Reputation may be injur'd? So many, that had it not been for the various Aſſaults lately made upon the Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, it would be hard to lay them together. But I think, whoever obſerves the Methods taken by his Lordſhip's Oppoſers, in their ſtriking at one of the cleareſt Characters in the World, will hardly be able to mention any way of injuring a Reputation which They have omitted;

or

or which is farther needful to be appriz'd of.

The faireſt way of Aſſault, is by open and downright Charges drawn up againſt a Man, whereby he is impeach'd of ſomething ſcandalous, and generally reproachful in the Eyes of the World. Thus the *Biſhop* of *Bangor* was charg'd with deliberate *Lying*, nay, with little leſs than deliberate *Perjury:* A Story being forg'd to contradict him in his moſt *Solemn Appeal* to GOD for the Truth of what he aſſerted. In this Caſe, the Enemy appearing without Diſguiſe, gives a Man fair Warning, and Opportunity for his own Defence. This, like open War, puts the Matter into a Way of being ſoon determin'd; leaving Succeſs to the juſter and ſtronger Side. The Biſhop's Succeſs, upon this Way of Attack, is very remarkable; and ſuch as will leave a laſting Diſgrace upon his Adverſaries.

But there are ſeveral Ways more covert and concealed, by which a Man's Reputation is very dangerouſly ſtruck at. Thus alſo has the Biſhop been attack'd by Innuendo's and Inſinuations; dropping ſpiteful Suggeſtions by the Bye; raiſing a ſecret Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, without any certain and apparent Cauſe; affirming Things in ſuch a Way as may leave room for a ſafe Retreat upon occaſion, but hardly a poſſibility of Diſproof. One prints a Pamphlet againſt the *Biſhop*, and ſets in the very Title of his Paper, *By an* Engliſhman *that never was a Jeſuit.* Deſigning to inſinuate into Thoſe who go no farther than Hearſays, Advertiſements, or Title-Pages, what he thinks may caſt an Odium upon the Biſhop. Another, a flouriſhing *Dean*

and

and *Doctor* very elegantly puts a Caſe, *Had I ever encouraged any Body to abuſe the whole Clergy of the Nation*, &c. which leaſt any one ſhould be ſo dull as not to apply to the Biſhop, after a ſignificant Daſh of his Pen he adds, * *But I believe your Lordſhip is not unwilling that I ſhould ſay no more on this Subject.*

Sometimes a Reputation is blemiſh'd by charging Men with ſaying Things that never came into their Heads; or faſtning ſuch Conſequences upon their Speeches or Writings, as they utterly diſown. This is done in ſo notorious a Manner by Dr. *Snape*, and his *Seconds*, in what they impute to the *Biſhop*; that I could not forbear applying that of *Jerome* to *Vigilantius*, *Et ſi non dixeris, ita habeberis quaſi dixeris.* Say it, or not ſay it, you ſhall be charged with it. The *Biſhop* is charged with being againſt Miniſterial Interpretations of Scripture, becauſe he declares againſt ſuch as pretend to be Authoritative and Abſolute. The Tendency of the *Biſhop*'s Doctrine is to *ſubvert all Government and Diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt*, becauſe he aſſerts Chriſt only to be King and Governour in his own Church. This alſo they ſay, tends to reduce Chriſt's Kingdom to a State of *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*, by referring all to Chriſt himſelf. So that however *faithful* Chriſt was, and is, *in all his Houſe*; and however by his Spirit he led the *Apoſtles into all Truth*, and enabled them to teach whatſoever he commanded; yet after all, Chriſt's Government and Laws

* *Dean Sherlock's Conſiderations*, p. 70.

would

would leave the Church in a State of Anarchy and Confuſion, were not a Set of Clergy-men raiſed up to make Supplements to the Laws of our Saviour. So Chriſt was repreſented by the *Phariſees*, in his own Day, as an *Enemy* to that very Law he came to fulfil.

There is another Method very common among the Artificers of Scandal; and that is, giving infamous malignant Turns to Things harmleſs and indifferent; miſrepreſenting Mens Actions and Conduct; nay, ſometimes dreſſing up That as Scandalous, which is ſo far from being Ill, as to appear upon diligent Search Praiſe-worthy. What wretched Work has been made about the *Biſhop* of *Bangor*'s taking one into his Houſe to inſtruct his Children; concerning whom Dr. *Snape*, and his *Seconds*, had not known ſo much, nor indeed were concerned to make ſuch Enquiries as the Biſhop had done. This, a purely domeſtic Affair, They have thruſt their Noſes into, only that They might miſrepreſent it to the World. The Entertaining a *Proſelite* from the *Jeſuits*, and that upon ſuch Aſſurance as is hardly in any other Caſe to be met with, ſhall be ſtill call'd entertaining a *Jeſuit*. Theſe Men provoke one to ſay, that when the Church has been govern'd by ſuch as They are, too many *Romiſh Prieſts* were received without half the Satisfaction. In the *Biſhop* of *Bangor* 'tis a worſe Thing to forſter one, who from a Papiſt is, upon the beſt Evidence, become a Proteſtant; than it is in Others to breed up *Jeſuits*, by inſtilling thoſe very Principles which Mr. *Pillonniere* has renounc'd.

A farther Way of making War upon a Man's Reputation, is to make dreadful Outcries againſt him among the Common People, and to faſten ſome opprobious Name upon him. Thus my Lord of *Bangor* is one while repreſented as well affected to the *Jeſuits*, another while as a *Preſbyterian*. No matter how contradictory theſe are in themſelves, if they do but ſerve, among different ſort of People, to blacken the *Biſhop*. The Generality are led by *Names* in a much eaſier, becauſe ſhorter Way, than by Reaſoning and Arguments. The *Phariſees*, who knew how far ill Names went among the Populace, branded Chriſt with the Name of a *Samaritan*. The *Samaritans* being abhor'd by the *Jews*, much as the *Presbyterians* are by *Sacheverell*'s Mob. Let one that is become a *Proteſtant*, declare, that he looks upon the *Bible only* as the Religion of ſuch; ſtanding up for a Liberty of every One's judging for himſelf; making Charity and mutual Forbearance the *Centre* of *Unity*; and yet, tho' the whole Reformation depends upon theſe Principles, the Luſt of Power will make Men call the Defenders of them, *Free-thinkers* in the looſe Senſe, *Socinians*, *Deiſts*, and what not?

Some there are that aim at the higheſt and moſt weighty Scandal; endeavouring to ruin a Reputation more effectually, by bringing upon a Man ſome public Cenſure; and by doing all They can to render him ſuſpected to the Governing Powers. Thus a Committee in the late *Convocation* are employ'd to draw up Accuſations againſt the *Biſhop*; and ſo far as the Governing Powers are to be in-

fluenc'd

fluenc'd by what They ſay, his *Lordſhip* muſt be look'd upon, and treated as an *Enemy to the Conſtitution.* So Dr. *Snape* makes the *Biſhop* an Advancer of Doctrines, whoſe Tendency is to Subvert the preſent *Eſtabliſhment.* 'Tis well we have not ſuch a Prince upon the Throne, as the late *French* King was in his regard to ſuch kind of Accuſations. How many poor Creatures were accus'd of *Treaſon* *, only for believing thoſe Things which the King did not believe, or which he declar'd himſelf againſt? And how many have fallen under the Weight of a *Majority of Votes* in Councils, or Convocations? But tho' a Majority may call themſelves the *Conſtitution*, yet They cannot make *Truth*: And if it ſo happens, that ſuch as they oppoſe, have Truth on their Side, They will but expoſe Themſelves, and Their boaſted Conſtitution, by running it down. For "Truth will expoſe "a Conſtitution, rather than a Conſtitution "be too hard for Truth." *Athanaſius* has written a Diſſertation againſt *Thoſe who judge of Truth only by a Majority* †. Which it is probably conjectur'd was writ about that Time, when the *Arians* were ſuperior in Number, and had moſt Votes.

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* 'Tis well known that in *France* the enſnaring *Queſtion* us'd to be, *Do you think the King in a falſe and damnable Religion, and that if He dies in it He will go to Hell?* If they ſaid *Yes*, they were hurry'd away for Teaſon: If they ſaid *No*, they were concluded obſtinate to refuſe a Religion in which they own'd one might be ſaved.

† πλήθει μόνω κρίνοντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

It would perhaps be thought tedious to enlarge upon all the leſſer ways of Calumniating. Such as the making Trifles appear vaſtly momentous, where they are like to be of any Uſe in degrading Another: Suppreſſing the Reaſons of an Opinion or Action, which might (if mention'd) make it appear juſtifiable, and fit to be done: making the utmoſt of every Fault or Miſtake; and inſiſting on a ſingle Blemiſh as if there was a general Deformity; like rubbing a little Smut over all the Face, and blemiſhing all the Features: Placing a Man in a Diſadvantagious Light by the artful Management of odious Compariſons; and when other ways of Detraction fail, ſetting up ſome of a boaſtedly Superiour Capacity or of a greater Figure, to outſhine him in his own Sphere: Inventing Lies which they think may fall in with the Run of Converſation; or ſhewing a Readineſs to receive and ſpread them as faſt as they are told: The *Lover of a Lie* ready made, as well as the *Maker* of it, is ranked in wretched Company, and deſtin'd to a wretched Place; *without are Dogs* &c. *and whoſoever loveth and maketh a Lie.**

But theſe things I ſhall content my ſelf with thus mentioning, that I may follow a little more cloſely and diſtinctly the late Debates among our learned Men, which have ſo baſely degenerated into Scolding, and Reviling. 'Tis an Obſervation upon the Diſputants at *Billingſgate*, that whoever firſt calls

* Revel. 22. 15.

Wh——r

Wh—r or R—gue has the worſt Side of the Argument. So when Divines enter the Liſts 'tis a ſhrew'd Sign who are the Weakeſt, when recourſe is had to Slander and Calumny. No Reaſon can be aſſign'd why a Man's private Conduct, or perſonal Character, ſhould be brought into a Controverſy, but either a politick View of taking away the Force of an Argument by raiſing an ill Opinion of him that urges it, or elſe to give vent to Spite and ill Nature. In either Caſe 'tis a Conduct that ſpeaks Meanneſs of Spirit, and a little Soul. But when to ſerve either of theſe a Man will forge, or utter, and be pleaſed with a Lie, only to render his Adverſary infamous, this is Villany added to Spite, and a wicked Policy with a Witneſs. 'Tis moſt directly oppoſite to that *Chriſtian Charity* which *thinketh no Evil*; and which *rejoyceth not in Iniquity, but rejoyceth in the Truth.* If therefore a Chriſtian Man, thro' the too powerful influence of any bad Principle, has become Guilty, of flinging Dirt himſelf upon his Adverſary's Character, or of lending Scandal to another; it becomes him (eſpecially when Falſhood aggravates the Defamation) to do what he can to wipe off the Scandal, and repair the Injury. To ſtand it out in a *Lying* Story, and be unwilling to admit Conviction of its being ſuch, is what no Provocation will juſtify. 'Tis a Deviation from all the Rules of Reaſon, Religion, and Humanity, when Oppoſition to a Mans *Cauſe* degenerates into Ill Will againſt his *Perſon*: And it is the worſt ſort of Ill Will that ſhews it ſelf by Scandalous

lous or False Imputations. To oppose Reason with Reason, and Good Manners with the like Civility, makes Controversy entertaining; and when it is thus conducted may do Honour and Service to Religion: But to answer Reason with Reproach, or to leave Arguing to follow a spiteful Inclination, turns Disputing into Fencing, and by degrees into downright Hostility; makes it grievous to all that are good-natur'd, and highly prejudicial to Religion.

The Bishop of *Bangor* is Famous in his Controversial Writings for strong Arguments, and proper Words, without so much as offering at Personal Reflections: The Gentleman and the Christian shine thro' his Performances in this way. But how contrary is the Management of his *Chief Opposers*? The Dr. began the Attack of Scandal, a *Bishop* supported him in it, and now the *Dean* is fallen upon him from another quarter. The Dr. was a little perplex'd with the *Absolutely*'s, and *Properly*'s in the Sermon he would have confuted; and because he could not get them out of his way, he picks up a Story, that they were not in the Sermon when *Preach'd*, but upon Advice of a Friend were inserted when *Printed*. By this Story he aims at serving a Double Purpose: To make the World believe there was real, and very great, Matter of Difference between the Bishop, and Himself; and also to fix upon the Bishop the Charge of *Lying*, (as I have before observed) that by sinking his Reputation he might get rid of his Arguments; and prevent the World's shewing any Regard to the Bi-

Biſhop's Writings. The manner in which the *Biſhop* of *Carliſle* ſupported this Charge is ſufficiently known. And is ſuch as ſhews Dr. *Snape* muſt have a violent liking to Scandal, that he ſhould publiſh a Hearſay, before he could find an Author for it that ſhould be bold enough to face down my Lord *Bangor* in what was charg'd againſt him. This Hearſay is immediately prov'd a baſe Forgery, and Falſhood: But is there any Evidence of Remorſe? No, if Dr. *K.* is to be believed the Biſhop of *C.* cannot be honeſt without continuing the Injury: What he has ſaid *he muſt abide by.* † He does abide by it accordingly; but ſpeaks ſo often backward and forward, that his inflexible Proofs of his Honeſty, looks not a little awkward upon him. The Doctor has indeed left out the Charge in the laſt Edition of his Book, but it does not appear he has made any Acknowledgment of the Injury he has done, by his former printing of it. Tho' he not only charges my Lord *Bangor* with a Lie, but a Wilful Lie, and a Jeſuitical Shift to cover it becauſe he knew it to be ſuch; yet there is not ſo much as a Word dropt to make Confeſſion of the Wrong, much leſs any Reparation for it. The Story is not told over again, becauſe the Doctor would have look'd ſomewhat worſe than a *Jeſuit*, if he had perſiſted in it while it ſtands ſo fully Confuted: But it is not retracted as it ought to have been; when a Retraction would have appeared much bet-

† *Courant*, July 9.

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ter in a *Poſtſcript* than the Excuſe he makes to his new Correſpondent. He leaves no Antidote againſt any of the Poyſon the former Editions had diſperſed; nor ſays a Word to take off any ill Impreſſions before made on his too eaſy, and credulous Followers.

And is this *Hardneſs* of *Heart* in the Aſſertors of Church Power, what muſt reconcile us to it? Can't they be perſwaded to Remorſe for a flagrant Wrong done to one of their own Body that differs from them? And is it ever to be expected they ſhould retract an Error, or ſhew any Compaſſion to a Set of People whom the *Biſhop* of *Bangor* would have reſtored to their Civil Rights? Alaſs! what have Diſſenters to look for when the Secular Powers are at the Devotion of theſe Men, *to terrify and keep in awe thoſe, who* (in their Eſteem) *diſturb the Peace of God's Church* † ? Farewel to all Thoughts of Juſtice or Gratitude with reſpect to Them, if Men of this Spirit ſhould prevail.

Much at the ſame unrelenting rate the Dr. manages another Calumny againſt the *Biſhop*: Charging him not only with having a *Jeſuit* in his Family, and making him his Companion and Confident; but ſavouring ſtrongly of Jeſuitical Converſation. This laſt part of the Charge he drops in the Third Edition of his Pamphlet, but yet in a way that muſt lead his Readers to infer it, from what he aſſerts: Who is ſo far from retracting what he had ſaid, that he ſtill maintains the

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Yes, the Jeſuit ſhall have Juſtice done him, by fetching accounts of him from the Jeſuits abroad, and by proving that he is a Jeſuit ſtill. *Riſum teneatis*, the Jeſuits abroad are to be conſulted about one that has deſerted them, expoſed them, and moſt ſolemnly proteſted againſt them. And the Doctor will find leiſure to make this Inquiry, tho' he has no Vacant time for anſwering what is afreſh writ againſt him. But ſuppoſe by a Colle-

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ction of Authorities from *France*, *Holland* and *Croydon*, he ſhould expoſe the Jeſuit; yet he will ſtill be Culpable for his Attack upon the Biſhop, unleſs he can prove that the Biſhop had as good Evidence of his continuing a Jeſuit when he took him into his Family, as the Doctor will be able to produce after his diligent Reſearches into his Character.

I do not wonder however that the *Biſhop* ſhould be counted Jeſuitical by the *Doctor*; when he has Front enough to tell the World that the *Enemies* of *all Revelation* are the only *Seconds* his Lordſhip has in this Controverſy. What a Cenſure is here, and what a dead-doing Hand has this Man of Authority? And yet there is ſuch a Charm in the aſſuming Air of ſuch Men, that I doubt not but many have ſwallowed this Lye without Chewing; and would have believed the Doctor if he had ſaid his Lordſhip's only Seconds were *Hottentots*. This is the true Spirit of a Domineering Clergyman. If you don't believe as he does, you are a *Heretick*. Or, becauſe this Word is not quite ſo frightful with us as in Popiſh Countries, therefore the Biſhop's Friends muſt be branded with the more odious Name of *Enemies to all Revelation*. This, this it is that makes Enemies to Revelation, to ſee how the profeſſed Friends of it treat one another. For to all I muſt add, that he who has no Tenderneſs for a Man's Character, but loads it with all the Infamy he can becauſe he differs from him, would ſhew as little to his Perſon were it in his Power.

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As for the *Dean* who ſeems to be the Champion that muſt ſtop the Biſhop's Mouth, we find him not content with ſtrong Reaſon, but he muſt alſo run into the way † of prejudicing a Character by little Stories and Inſinuations, in which the Biſhop *aſſures him he is Miſtaken* *, and in the Wrong as well as others. We find the *Dean* touch'd to the quick in a Matter in which he thought his own Reputation deeply concerned; and yet is preſently Guilty of very bad uſage of the Biſhop: nay, for this very Reaſon becauſe he had been miſrepreſented by Another (as he alledges) therefore he revenges it upon the Biſhop. But I have no Inclination to deſcend further into Particulars, I doubt not but the Biſhop's Character will ſhine thro' all the Miſts and Clouds that are raiſed to obſcure it. And the rather, becauſe I find his Lordſhip declaring, he will always preſerve that Temper in Writing, and appearance of Charity which has ſo much offended the *Dean*.

There can be no Means more likely to ſecure a Reputation once attain'd, than a Firmneſs of Soul, and Conſtancy in the obliging uſe of thoſe Worthy Qualities that procur'd it. This opens to publick View a further valuable part of a Man's Merit, and compleats it by adding Steaddineſs, and Conſtancy to his Character: So that now the former good Opinion which the Wiſe and Judicious Part of the World had of him, becomes a prov'd confirm'd thing.

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† Sherlock's *Conſider*. p. 66. 70.
* Poſtſcript *to* Preface *before* Pillonniere.

This is a much ſurer way of raiſing a Reputation and preſerving it, than a Political Oſtentation of Falſe Virtues; than the too uſual methods of Flattery and Diſſimulation, a mean and ſervile accomodation to every popular and prevailing Humour; or a Vicious Self-Intereſt covered with the mask of a Concern for the Publick. 'Tis very hard to continue long the Impreſſions made on Mankind by theſe means: ſome will have Penetration enough to ſee through them: or ſome Incident will diſcover what the Man really is; and ſhew the true Humour or Paſſion that governs him through all the falſe Pretences uſed to cover it: And then he muſt naturally expect Contempt and Infamy in return, for the undeſerved Reputation he had ſtoll'n from a deceived People.

But tho' in general, a Steaddineſs in thoſe worthy Qualities and Actions that procur'd a good Reputation, be the beſt way of maintaining it; yet there are ſo many Perſons who have their Paſſions or Intereſts to ſerve in ruining it, that neither the greateſt Excellencies, nor the beſt uſing of them, will ſecure a Man from attempts to degrade and ſink him. When ſuch baſe and wicked Attempts are made upon a Man, there are ſome Prudentials in management that may more eaſily diſingage him, and will help him to clear himſelf with Honour. It is an Argument of a little Mind, and vain Temper, to make a Serious matter of every ſlight Reflection on a Man's Character: To take notice of the Weakneſs or Rudeneſs of every ill-

na-

natur'd ill-manner'd Perſon. In ſuch caſes 'tis Prudence not to hazard a Reputation by ſhewing we have ſo little Knowledge of the World, or ſo little Firmneſs of Mind, as to be diſcompoſed by trivial things. That Greatneſs of Soul, which makes a Man appear Superiour to the Enemies of his Reputation, by deſpiſing them, is no uncommon way to advance a Reputation. Men may without any imputation of Vanity or Pride, aſſume an Air of Greatneſs, and a Virtuous Conſciouſneſs of their Deſerts, againſt the impotent Attempts of harſh unciviliz'd Spirits; and as knowing Themſelves ſecure from Danger in ſuch Inſtances, make them the Foils to ſet off an Eſtabliſh'd Reputation.

But when the attempt is made by Perſons who have Power or Intereſt enough to do miſchief; when they charge ſuch things as Eſſentially hurt a Reputation; it is a prudent management to wipe off all ſuch Aſperſions with Briskneſs, and Reſolution. When a Man ſits down quietly and tamely under a Charge that touches his Honeſty and Integrity, the World will likely take it for a Confeſſion of his Guilt; at leaſt for the mark of a mean or timorous Spirit. To be unconcern'd for one's whole Reputation is a ſure way to ruin it. The World will judge He can hardly deſerve a Reputation, who appears to have no value for one. And He will always be thought not to value it, who is unconcern'd about what is Eſſential to it. Nothing can be more Eſſential than Honeſty and Integrity: For without Theſe, all other good Qualities will not be able to procure Eſteem,

Eſteem, Truſt and Affection. It muſt needs therefore touch a Man in a very tender Point to rob him of ſo valuable a Treaſure as his Credit.

So in whatever way a Man's Reputation is blacken'd, he is obliged to reſent it in proportion to the Importance of what is ſtruck at. Eſpecially when a Man is attack'd in his moſt peculiar Excellence and Talent; in the principal Labour and chief Glory of Ones Life; in his Knowledge and Learning in his own Profeſſion; his Sincerity or Virtue in a ſacred Character, and the like.

It may happen that a Man's neceſſary Vindication of himſelf in ſuch Caſes may force him to preſs his Adverſary to many Inconveniencies, and to leave him at laſt under a Load of Diſgrace, which his Goodneſs and Humanity would have avoided if poſſible. But a vigorous Defence of injur'd Reputation, is juſt in the Defender by the ſtricteſt Rules of Morality; and it is honourable in the Opinion of all civiliz'd People. Whatever Inconveniencies are brought on the Aggreſſor, he muſt place to the Account of his own Injuſtice, and Evil Deſign on the Reputation of his Neighbour.

Yet ever in this Caſe, Men ſhould take prudent care that the Senſe of an Injury do not make them looſe their Temper, and draw them into any Indecencies; and ſo betray them into a Diſcovery either of a weak Judgment, or Intemperate Paſſions. That they do not help to deſtroy a Reputation, which the falſe Accuſations of their Enemies could never hurt, if they had not lent them their

their own Aſſiſtance. When they betray Perverſeneſs and Ill-humour, a moroſe Nature and revengeful Temper, all they can expect from their Friends is Pity for Eſteem; but from their Enemies they are ſure to meet with Scorn inſtead of Reſpect. Whereas, if under the ſevereſt Provocations, a Man can preſerve that Kindneſs and Humanity which ſhall add a Reputation to his other Abilities, and uſes no other Severity then what a juſt Self-Defence makes neceſſary, He has an opportunity to ſhew the Brighteſt Character; That He is compleatly Maſter of himſelf and of his own Conduct: That He knows what He ſhould be, and yet more, knows how to be what he ſhould. This muſt heighten a Man's Reputation with his Friends, and force an inward Reſpect even from Enemies themſelves.



To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SIR,

YOur Thoughts are Earneſtly deſir'd by ſome of your Readers on that which has been of late the chief Subject of Converſation, aud has ſo much employ'd the Preſs; I mean the Affair of the *Biſhop* of *Bangor*. Methinks your Pen ſhould not lye ſtill, when *Truth* and *Catholic Chriſtianity* are ſo much concern'd. Remember your firſt *Advertiſement*, and what you have given Reaſon to expect from you. And then ſay, what Clamour and Noiſe! what Sophiſtry and vile Arts! what falſe Inſinuations, and Lyes detected, are uſed to ruine the Name of a Man for preaching a Doctrine moſt plainly deliver'd in the Goſpel. It muſt ſurely be a *Kingdom of this World* that can need, or uſe ſuch Supports as theſe. 'Tis the *Craft* being in Danger that makes this *Uproar*; not the *Kingdom* or True *Miniſters* of Chriſt. *Religion*, *Church*, *Miniſtry*, *Diſcipline*, &c. are Words loudly uſed to the ſame Purpoſe with *Great is Diana of the Epheſians*. Help Reverend Operators in Calumny! The Reverend Mr. *Hilliard* who tells us *his Gall is broke* in the Controverſy: The Reverend Mr. *Trap* with his *diabolically Mad*, *Dumb*, *and Deaf*, *and Dull Devil*. Let the Reverend Dr. *Innys*

Janys aſſiſt too; For He can prove out of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* that the Biſhop is a *God upon Earth* (Θεον επιγειον) Whilſt his Fellow Labourers inſinuate him to be a *Devil*: 'Tis either God or Devil according as it ſerves the purpoſe. Let the Reverend Dr. *Snape* produce his *Living Man* and *Jeſuit*; and Dr. *Sherlock* talk of his *Bars* and *Bolts*. Follow ye *Hendlys! Laws!* and *Marſdens!* and all the Underworkers in Rudeneſs and Detraction! Upon the whole it muſt be allow'd there never was more of it on one ſide of a Controverſy, manag'd on the other ſide ſo handſomly, and with ſo much Temper. Really Sir I cannot help ſaying, that the Attack upon the *Biſhop's Reputation* has been manag'd as if He was the only Perſon that had any to looſe in the Scuffle. After ſuch a manner of Dealing as ſome have uſed; (Violent Diſtortions of the Senſe; ſeparating and disjoynting Words from their proper Places; Wrenching away the honeſt meaning from ſome Sentences, impoſing a Bad one upon others; not allowing an Author to ſay what he has ſaid; and making him ſay what He never thought on;) I would undertake after this manner to make Nonſence and Blaſphemy of the Bible it ſelf, and turn any Author in the World into Ridicule. Yet ſome of my Lord *Bangor*'s Oppoſers follow one another in theſe ways, with the moſt Stupid Reflections: If one ſays the Biſhop lets the *Devil into the Church of Chriſt*, becauſe he aſſerts the *Church* to be his *Kingdom*; Another licks it up after him, and aſſerts it over again; without any regard to the Diſtinction

between that Kingdom of Chriſt which is his *Church*, govern'd by his Word and Spirit, and that Kingdom which is the *Univerſe*, govern'd by his Power and Providence, and which includes the Government of Devils Themſelves.

Sir, if you ſhould not think it worth your while to make the Biſhop of C---'s *Dirty Tour*, and to follow theſe Controverſial Writers *thro' all the Kennels of the Town*; yet I hope ſuch a Writer as *Dean Sherlock* will call up your Attention and Regard. And I think his attempt to repreſent my Lord *Bangor* as a *Worldling*, after his preaching ſuch a Sermon of Chriſt's *Kingdom not being of this World*, tends to fix a Scandal and an *Odium* on the *Biſhop*, little leſs than the deliberate Lying charg'd upon him by Dr. *Snape*. The *Dean* ſays, * *Had I upon Pretence of Exhorting others to Submiſſion under the hard Terms of* not taſting the Beneficence of the Government, in a diſtinguiſhing manner, *ſhewn how* uneaſily I bore *the want of Preferment my Self; your Lordſhip would have had ſome Colour to think me not a little concern'd for the Riches and Glories of this World.* I would ask what Merit the *Dean* thinks He can make to himſelf by this awkward Boaſt? Three Prebends, Two Maſter-Ships, a Deanry and a Rectory might prevent any Man's gaping for further Preferment, that had not a very voracious Appetite. But let this be turn'd from the *Dean* to the Perſon on whom He plainly deſigns it ſhould

* *Conſiderations.* p. 70.

reſt;

reſt; and then the Charge is fix'd upon Somebody of *being not a little*, even beyond himſelf, *concern'd for the Riches and Glories of this World.* To expect ſome diſtinguiſhing Favours for eminent and diſtinguiſhing Service is no Aſperſion upon any Man; but what is inſinuated in that Expreſſion, *uneaſily bearing the Want of Preferment*, 'tis hard to tell: Twenty little Stories for ought one knows may be wrapt up in, or hereafter grow out of theſe few words. The *Dean*'s Complementing the *Biſhop* in another place with the Character of *Domitian* has ſomething exceedingly invidious in it.

Pray Sir! let it be thought worth your while, to make ſome Reflections on ſuch Managements as theſe; eſpecially on the moſt notorious Scandals fix'd on the *Biſhop*. One cannot eaſily imagine a Practice more miſchievous than a licentious Freedom with eſtabliſhed Reputations.

It is in *itſelf* one of the worſt Sorts of Injury. A Man of Honour and Integrity prefers a good Name to every thing elſe except the Peace of his Mind. He had rather hazard his Life or Fortune, than forfeit his Character. And therefore to rob him of that, is to injure him in the moſt tender Point, in which it is in the power of another to touch him. Beſides that in the *Conſequence* it may come to affect all his other valuable Intereſts; the Execution of his Deſigns, the Advance of his Fortunes, or even the Security of Eſtate and Life it ſelf. One thing it directly tends to deprive him of, for which in truth a good Man will principally value Life, "a Capacity of being uſeful to the World. The Credit

and Service of Clergymen eſpecially, are uſed to live and dye together. He that deſtroys the one, is accountable for the Loſs of the other. And the Injury ſtill riſes higher, in Proportion to the Superior Station, the uncommon Abilities, the extenſive Intereſt, and generous Love of Mankind, by which any Chriſtian Miniſter is diſtinguiſhed.

The Miſchief is the greater, when all Care is taken to ſpread and give Credit to the Scandal: When it is ſent abroad in the moſt publick manner; deliver'd with the greateſt Aſſurance, *in verbo Sacerdotis*; colour'd with a Zeal for the Church, and a pretence of doing God Service. Theſe are Vehicles which ſeldom fail to convey any malicious Story into the Minds and Belief of the common People. And an Honeſt Man is left under great Diſadvantages for defending himſelf: 'Tis hardly poſſible that the Damage ſhould be thorowly repair'd. Either the Antidote reaches not ſo far as the Poiſon; or the Poiſon has had ſo much time to work up the Paſſions and Prejudices of the People, that the Antidote comes too late: or after the fulleſt and cleareſt Confutation, ſomewhat of Jealouſy and diſadvantagious Surmize at leaſt will ſtick. It was natural to expect, that Thouſands would have greedily ſwallow'd down the horrid Imputation upon my Lord of *Bangor*, of a falſe Appeal to God, who would never have Inclination or Opportunity to be ſet Right by his Defence: That muſt inevitably have been the Conſequence, had not his Lordſhip purſued a quick and happy Thought

Thought, (the only one that could prevent the Miſchief being irreparable,) to extinguiſh the Calumny as ſoon as born by the moſt timely and publick and unanſwerable Vindication.

But the Miſchief is far more extenſive than to the immediate Sufferers. *Truth* and *Knowledge* muſt be Sufferers too. Nothing can be a greater Diſcouragement to all impartial Inquiries and growing Diſcoveries by Men of Genius and Application, than to ſee the Example of ſuch ill Uſage for advancing any thing out of the beaten Road. They muſt expect to have an open Cry againſt them; that every unhallowed Method ſhall be uſed even by Clergymen to ſink their Reputation; Names of Odium thrown out againſt them at all Adventures, and that they may be arraign'd for the blackeſt Crimes upon meer Hearſay-Tattle. Noble Encouragements indeed to Learning and Study, and to generous Endeavours for inlightning the World! When unconcerned Spectators ſee thro' theſe pious Frauds and obſerve Clergymen ſo forward and active in them, when the Cauſe of the Church is pretended to be ſerved by them; they are eaſily tempted to ſink their Opinion of the Church itſelf: And the Clergy, inſtead of gaining thoſe exorbitant Acceſſions of Power and Veneration which they are contending for, loſe the juſt Reſpects due to them from the Laity. Nay 'tis well, if Chriſtianity itſelf ſuffer not in the end by the Quarrel.

I leave you to do with theſe Hints what you pleaſe: Something of this Nature might

might possibly do Service in your way of Writing Your Paper is not I believe so generally read among those who are most concerned in this Controversy, as one would wish; but whether it may be of Advantage to them, or not, I am perswaded it will be very Serviceable to others; and will greatly oblige,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Any kind of Letters, Eſſays, Extracts out of valuable Authors, or Intelligence of any Affairs which may ſerve the firſt declared Intention of this Paper, will be thankfully received, if directed to the Author of the Occaſional-Paper, *to be left at* North's *Coffee-Houſe,* Kingſtreet, *near* Guild-Hall, London. *Poſt paid.*

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THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. IX.

OF

SOCIETIES

FOR

Reformation of Manners;

With an

Addreſs to Magiſtrates.

Common Sence as well as the Experience of all Ages teaches us, that no Government can flouriſh which does not encourage and propogate Religion and Morallity among all its particular Members. It was an Obſervation of the antient Romans, *that their Empire had not more encreaſed by the Strength of their Arms, than by the Sanctity of their Manners:* Cicero, ---- *makes it a Doubt, whether it be poſſible for a Community to exiſt that had not a prevailing Mixture of Piety in its Conſtitution? ---- a Man who would hope to govern a Society without any Regard to theſe Principles, is as much to be contemned for his Folly, as to be deteſted for his Impiety.*

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Price Four Pence.

OF

SOCIETIES

FOR

Reformation of Manners, &c.

IT is one avowed Deſign of this Paper to aſſert the juſt Liberties of Mankind. But all juſt Liberty muſt be founded in Reaſon, and kept within the Bounds of Virtue and Religion. if theſe Bounds are broke down, it degenerates into Licentiouſneſs: And this, ſhould it grow Univerſal, would introduce Tumult and Confuſion into Society, tear its Ligaments, prey upon its Vitals, and quickly iſſue in its Diſſolution. It is Virtuous and Reaſonable Liberty that the Author would aſſert and cultivate, but would by no means be underſtood to countenance or abet Licentious Practices. This were to ruin his own Deſign; for Freedom and Property are mere Names, where Men have renounc'd Reaſon, abandon'd Virtue,

tue, and declar'd themſelves looſe from all Laws and Bonds of Morality or Religion. It is with an Heart bleeding for his Native Country, that he beholds the Corruption of Manners, and the diſſolute Behaviour, of Multitudes of his Fellow-Citizens. He trembles to think what the iſſue will be; how certain our Ruin if Things go on at this rate; and how near we ſtand to the Brink of the Precipice.

There is no Truth more obvious in Nature, or better atteſted by common Experience than this, *viz.* That a general Diſſoluteneſs of Manners, in any Community, tends to its Deſtruction. By it Magiſtrates are unqualified for Rule, and Subjects for Obedience. Men of all ſorts are averſe to all good Orders: Thoſe in Power grow Remiſs and Indolent, give themſelves up to their own Inclinations, and permit others to purſue theirs: And thoſe under command ſnatch at the Liberty offer'd, and ſhew how glad they are to caſt off all Rule, and live without any. And what is this, but to confound all Things, and bring on ſwift Deſtruction? Without Order Government cannot ſubſiſt: And where no Government is, Societies muſt either be torn to pieces, or disband.

All kinds of Immorality have alſo a Tendency to ruin *Truth*, which is to deſtroy all mutual Confidence among the Members of Society, and this is tearing all its Bonds to pieces. The Adulterer and Whoremonger generally act in diſguiſe, and by falſe Pretences carry on their dark Deſign: In this way, at leaſt, they always corrupt and ruin the Innocent.

cent: And one of them breaks the moſt ſolemn Covenant that can be made by a Man and Woman, the matrimonial Contract: And who that hath broken through theſe Obligations, and here parted with his Faith and Honour, can ever be held by any Contract elſe? The Cheat and Robber are upon no Terms with you: The one will Deceive, if he can; and the other Challenges for his own whatever he can by Force or Fraud extort from you. And how quickly is the Debauchee reduced to an unhappy Neceſſity of providing a Maintenance in this Method, either to keep himſelf from Starving, or to feed his Luſts? The prophane Swearer makes a direct Aſſault on Truth, and ſeems to bid it Defiance: A Man conſcious of his own ſacred Regard to Truth, contents himſelf with barely aſſerting what he would have believed: He knows he can make this Demand in every Common Caſe from all who know him: But he who muſt have his Aſſertions always backed with Evidence, and call in Witneſſes to his Veracity, is conſcious ſure that he cannot demand Belief upon his Credit: And whence ſhould this proceed, but from his known Diſregard to Truth? So certain is our common Proverb, *That he who Swears will Lie.* If a Man has any Meaning at all, when he Swears in common Converſation, it evidently carries this Suppoſition in it: He has himſelf a very ſlender Regard to Truth, and the more he Swears, the leſs is he to be believ'd. This is bringing Oaths, the greateſt Bond and Pledge of Truth, into downright Contempt: 'Tis vacating all their Force, and making them croſs

their

their Principal Deſign. And other Vices have a like baneful Influence.

Many Vices proceed in other Methods to ruin Societies. The Strength of any Society is commonly the Security of it; and, next to the mutual Confidence of the Members, nothing gives greater Strength to it, than its *Wealth* and *Riches*. But Pride, and Luxury, and Lewdneſs, and all manner of Riot and Debauchery, have a direct Tendency to the utter waſte of a Nation's Wealth. Theſe Vices cannot be maintain'd but at a vaſt Expence. And when Buſineſs is neglected, whilſt the Stock is waſting, and that Stock but little too, how faſt will Poverty come on? And how many have we now among our Poor, that are made and kept ſuch by Idleneſs and Debauchery? Do not all Parties complain of the Increaſe of the Poor, and the Burthen of their Maintenance? And muſt not this Burthen ſtill encreaſe, the more Idle and Debauched we grow? And muſt not this in time affect the Body Politic? If our Poor grow too Numerous to be maintain'd, how ſhall the Government be ſupported, or the Society ſubſiſt? And how quickly may Things grow to this Paſs, if ſuch notorious Vices are indulged or countenanced?

Nay, the Vices of a People lay them open to the Practices of their *Enemies*. If you will but ſupply Fuel to their Luſts, how eaſily may you blind their Eyes, and bind their Hands? Nay, employ thoſe very Hands in tearing out their own Eyes, and throwing away their moſt valuable Privileges?

And

And ſure the *Church* muſt be in the utmoſt Danger from the Vices of the People, if by the Church any thing be meant, beſides the Grandeur and Wealth of the Clergy. All Religion, muſt be ruined where Immorality prevails: For it cannot prevail without breaking through all the Bonds of Religion. And when Men are grown into a Contempt of Religion the Prieſthood cannot long have Honour and Reſpect: Or if it have, it muſt be ſuch only as is forced by Fear, or purchaſed by fraudulent Conveyances, or the Iſſue of Stupidity and Ignorance. And though this may for a while well enough ſerve the Purpoſe of thoſe, who by the Church mean only their own Power and Intereſt; yet will it not long ſerve their Turn, if other Men ſhould play their own Game againſt them, and Support and Encourage the Vices of the People: For the Generality will always be led by vicious Inclination, and where that meets with moſt Encouragment, they will be moſt at Command. So that thoſe wicked Church-men, who would ſerve themſelves by the Vices of the People may miſs their Ends, and have their Engines play'd againſt themſelves. But it is blaſpheming the venerable Name, to make the Church ſtand for ſuch Ideas as theſe. 'Tis ſcandalous for any Man, to plead for ſuch a Church as muſt be ſupported by the Vices of the People, or that will not be hurt and ruin'd by giving them Countenance and Encouragement.

Upon all theſe Accounts 'tis very plain and evident, that the natural Tendency of Vice is to ruin Nations. 'Tis prejudical to them in all their Intereſts. It ſlackens or tears in pieces the

the Bonds of Union; it creates Diffidence and Diſcord; it conſumes the Wealth, and weakens the Securities of the People; it melts their Strength, and corrupts their underſtanding, and makes them an eaſy Prey to Enemies. And in Chriſtian Nations the Miſchief yet ſpreads farther. Vice licens'd or indulg'd in them, threatens ruin to Religion, and is like to overturn the Church as well as the State.

This Matter lies very plain, in the Reaſon of Things, before thoſe who will give themſelves leave to think. And the Experience of all Ages confirms the Truth. If either Sacred or Prophane Hiſtory be conſulted, it will be found, that the Riſe and Fall, the Proſperity and Ruin of Nations, have been more owing to their Virtues and Vices, than to any Cauſes elſe whatever. The Foundations of their Greatneſs, Wealth, and Power, were laid in virtuous Actions: But Vice and Immorality have always undermined them, and brought them to Deſtruction.

It muſt then be the Concern of All who wiſh well to their Country, and underſtand its Intereſt, to have ſome effectual Check given to ſpreading Vice. The Laws of all civilized Nations have made Proviſion for this Purpoſe. But what are Laws of themſelves, if not animated by due Executions? And how can Laws be executed, if Offences againſt them be not brought before the proper Officers, that they may take Notice of them, and deterr others by puniſhing the Guilty? And when Diſobedience to the Laws are grown common, and the ſpreading Infection of Vice has engaged Multitudes in the Conſpiracy

ſpiracy againſt Virtue; that is, againſt the Peace and Proſperity of their Country; how neceſſary is it that the Friends to all ſhould confederate againſt them, and with united Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, endeavour to give Vigour to the Laws, and drive back that Flood of Miſery that is breaking in upon them? How rare a Spirit, and how generous a Love to their Country do thoſe Men diſcover, that will enter into ſuch a Confederacy? How much ſhould they be commended and encouraged? The higheſt Honours are due to them: And they can hardly be in the Intereſt of Virtue, or Religion, or Friends to their Country, who would treat them with Coldneſs or Diſreſpect; yea, who do not wiſh them great Succeſs in their Attempts, and in their ſeveral Places, give them all the Countenance and Help they can.

A SOCIETY for REFORMATION of MANNERS is the moſt Honourable and Uſeful Combination in any greater Community. It was brave, and ſhewed the warmeſt Zeal for the Honour and Intereſts of their Country, in the Men who firſt ſet a foot ſuch SOCIETIES among us here in *England*; and in others that came into them, and lent an helping Hand to ſuch a generous Deſign: And it was prudently, as well as bravely done, to aſſociate and with united Strength purſue it.

Great Deſigns for the Publick Good are ſeldom well laid or vigorouſly purſued, but in *Society*. When a conſiderable Number are formed into a Body, they have a great Advantage over any ſingle Perſons, in Point of Wiſdom and *Contrivances*. The Maxim of the

Wiſe Man is verified by Experience; *In the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety.* The different Sentiments of ſeveral wiſe Men, will be like an Union of Rays, by which the common Light is collected, and appears more bright and ſtrong than when diſperſed. An happy Hint is often ſtarted in a Debate, or by Converſation, that would never have entered into a Man's Mind alone. And ſometimes by comparing Things together, and obſerving the preciſe Difference among them, a New Opinion is formed diſtinct from each, and preferable to every one. By acting with mutual Conſent and Advice, Men are able to concert proper Meaſures for ſtated Procedure, againſt Emergencies and Inconveniencies,

And this is more plain as to the Power of *Execution.* Many a wiſe and well-contriv'd Deſign has miſcarried, for want of Power to carry it on. Single Attempts are eaſily born down, and render'd ineffectual by popular Prejudice, a ſtrong Tide of Oppoſition, or the Weight of the Charge neceſſary to ſupport it. But a Body of Men well compacted, gives Authority and Weight to a good Deſign; makes it appear conſiderable and worthy Regard; furniſhes many Hands for the ſeveral Parts; avoids that Envy and Odium which is the common Shadow of great Merit and generous Attempts, and eaſily ſupports an Expence above the Ability of private Perſons.

We could ſcarce imagine how much may be done by the united Wiſdom and Strength of a formed Society, if we had not many remarkable Inſtances of it in the World. The

French

French Academy at *Paris* for refining their Language; The Royal Society at *London* for Improvement of Natural Knowledge; The ſeveral Societies for propagating the Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip; And the ſeveral Companies for Trade and Merchandize, are ſo many plain Proofs, how uſeful Societies are, in their different Kinds, for promoting all Sorts of Learning, for the ſpreading of Religion, and the Increaſe of Wealth.

And if this hold true in general; in the Caſe of theſe SOCIETIES there was ſomewhat *peculiar* that required ſuch an Union. A Flood of open Immoralities, by the Countenance of Superiors, and Neglect of Laws, had overwhelmed the Land. All Places of public Reſort abounded with Oaths and Lewdneſs. Houſes of criminal Concourſe and Entertainment were Numberleſs. Multitudes of every Rank and Order were Corrupt and Degenerate, ſetting the Example, and giving Encouragement to every Vice. Yea many Clubs of lewd and profane Perſons were formed, to elude the Laws, and propagate Profaneneſs and Immorality.

In theſe Circumſtances a conſiderable Number of wiſe and pious Men, of diſtinguiſhed Zeal, ſeveral of Character and Condition among the different Parties of Proteſtants, began theſe *Societies* very quickly upon the *Revolution*. A proper Opportunity to endeavour to reform the Nation, when, by a wonful Providence, it had been reſtored to its Civil Rights. And they have been carried on ever ſince (alas! that it muſt be ſaid) through many Struggles, and with too little Succeſs.

Indeed the generous Patriots who firſt engaged in the Deſign, could not hope to carry it on without Oppoſition; and therefore wiſely formed themſelves into Societies, to act in Concert, to animate each other under diſcouraging Difficulties, and ſupport the common Expence: And how fit a Method this was, the Event has ſhown. Though they have not had the Succeſs one could have wiſhed; it would have been much leſs, if they had not thus incorporated.

Ill Men will ever take Endeavours for a Reformation, as an Attack upon them. Their Vices have ſo much the Aſcendant in their Affections, that any Check of theſe will rouze them to the moſt reſolute Defence, as if they were contending for every Thing that is dear to them.

The People of diſſolute Manners make ſo great a Number, that it leſſens in them the Apprehenſion of their Fault, and animates them to enter the Liſts, againſt all that would endeavour their Amendment. They are encouraged by the Figure of thoſe who appear on their Side, as well as by their Numbers: The Men of principal Eſtates and Power, are, in too many Places, ready to ſpread this Infection by their Influence and Example: And I wiſh it were a Calumny to ſay, that the Clergy in ſeveral Pariſhes of the Kingdom, are far from being the principal Patterns of Virtue and Sobriety.

When Matters are at this Paſs, it is hardly to be expected, that thoſe who give themſelves an unreſtrained Liberty, ſhould be very forward to reprove or puniſh Vice: Or that any

any Steps they take, ſhould have much Effect for the Reforming the People, whatever grave Airs they put on in the Pulpit, or on the Bench. Every Body muſt take that for mere Grimace, or Compliance with the Drudgery of their Office. The Tenant, the Labourer, the common Pariſhioner, will hardly mend at their Reproof, whilſt he hath the Countenance of their Example: But only lament that he cannot ſin as cheap as the Squire, or as eaſily get himſelf abſolved as the Parſon.

A good ſhare of Courage is neceſſary to declare War againſt Vice, when it is ſo powerfully ſupported. Moſt of thoſe, who are in the Intereſt of Virtue, think it enough if they can maintain their own Character; Few will have Boldneſs enough to appear in the Field againſt ſuch powerful Oppoſition: And thoſe that do, will hardly make much Progreſs, or ſo much as ſtand their Ground, without difficulty.

Looſe people have alſo found Ways of expoſing the Friends of Virtue to popular Odium, and of diſparaging their moſt commendable Actions, by affixing Names of Reproach to them. Their perſonal Virtues are all ſullied at once, by the bold Imputation of *Hypocriſy*. If they take a Step towards reclaiming their Neighbours, though it be with the moſt diſintereſted Concern for their Welfare, they are troubleſome *Buſy-Bodies*. If they only tell them in the moſt friendly manner of their Faults, and give them good Advice this is *Cant*. If all their good Advice is loſt, and they ſee it neceſſary to bring Offenders to Puniſhment, they are *Cruel* and

Un-

Unmerciful. If they make the Magiſtrate, for this End, privy to the moſt notorious Violations of the Laws, they are vexatious and unneighbourly *Informers.* 'Tis unaccountable what Impreſſion a Word thus thrown out, without a Meaning, or without the Shew of a proper Application, makes, upon unthinking People, to ſet them againſt the trueſt Friends of the Public Intereſt; and even upon many of the Better Sort, to intimidate them from any Zeal and Activity in ſo good a Cauſe. Theſe have been Diſcouragements to the Deſign, and obſtacles to its Succeſs. Yet one would think, Men animated with the Love of Virtue, and Zeal for the Public Good, ſhould break through them; and give Countenance to the Attempt, tho' they ſhould not wholly embarque in it.

One Thing I have heard indeed alledg'd againſt the SOCIETIES as to Matter of Fact, which, could it be fixed upon them, would be ſome Prejudice to them, even with honeſt and good Men. I mean, that ſome employ'd by them, have compounded with Offenders: Inſtead of bringing them under the Cenſure of the Law, have extorted Money from them, and then let them eſcape: This looks rather like a Deſign of private Gain, than a Concern for public Reformation.

To this I think it would be enough to ſay, the Rank and Fortunes of many engaged in this Service, muſt ſet them above all Suſpicion of ſuch mean Views, as well as their known Virtue and Integrity. But the Societies have taken effectual Care to clear themſelves of any ſuch Imputation,

by

by an Advertiſement firſt publiſhed ſeveral Years ago, and ſince frequently repeated, wherein they declare, "That there have been "indeed ſome baſe and wicked Perſons (not "engaged, or in the leaſt concerned in the "Societies) who have extorted Money from "Offenders, and ſometimes from honeſt "Men: But all ſuch Practices are utterly "deteſted by the Societies, who have cau-"ſed ſuch Perſons to be proſecuted when "they have diſcovered them; nor do they "know or believe, that any engaged in the "Societies are chargeable with it; that to "avoid all Suſpicion of acting from a merce-"nary Principle, they have always refuſed "what is allowed by Law to the Informer; "that if at any Time hereafter it ſhould "happen, that any Perſon or Perſons, con-"cerned in the Societies, ſhould be guilty "of any Evil Practices, the Societies will "be highly obliged to thoſe, who for the "Public Service, ſhall make diſcovery of it." This is as much as could be done by them for their Vindication: To proſecute thoſe, who unjuſtly ſhelter'd themſelves under their Name, while they acted ſo vile a Part; To give the World Public Notice of ſuch Miſcreants; and to ſollicit it as a Favour, that any of Themſelves might be made Public Examples if ever they ſhould be found engaged in ſo baſe an Action. This will paſs for a ſufficient Vindication with all who uſe to think, or have any Affection for Virtue or Religion. Thoſe who are open Enemies to both, will go on to pour out all the Reproach they can againſt them: And thoſe who are indifferent to the Cauſe

Cauſe of Virtue, will be without regard to all the Apologies they can make: But they will ſtand clear in their Character, after this; and be honourable in the Eſteem of all who underſtand the Worth of Virtue, or value the Common Intereſts of Mankind.

In ſpite of all the Oppoſition they have met with on one Hand, and Neglect on the other, they have hitherto maintained their Ground, and gained ſome Advantages againſt Wickedneſs. It is not quite ſo Open and Bareſac'd, ſo Inſolent and Daring as it was ſome time ago; as it was particularly, a little after the *Mob's Divine* had aſſured them, *That under the ſanctify'd Pretence of Reformation of Manners, to turn Informer was to aſſume an odious and factious Office, and arrogantly intrench upon others Chriſtian Liberty and Innocence.* Many diſorderly Houſes have been ſuppreſſed; and many profane Swearers have been convicted and reclaimed; many lewd Women have been brought to public Shame and Puniſhment, and the Number of thoſe Evening-Strolers are leſſened. Whilſt the good Example ſet by *England*, has been followed by other Chriſtian Nations, with a very laudable Emulation. And once one would have hoped, ſo uſeful an Attempt ſhould have been carried on to Perfection; and a new Face put upon the Chriſtian World, at leaſt; and Virtue every-where have become Honourable, and Vice Infamous and Deteſtable.

One cannot but wonder there ſhould be any Men of Character for Virtue, or for Regard to their Country, that can be indifferent in ſuch a Cauſe as this; and much more that any

any ſuch can diſcourage or condemn the Undertaking. But that any Magiſtrates of this Character, ſhould be among theſe Indifferents, or theſe Enemies, is perfectly aſtoniſhing. Yet is it to be feared that this is One of the chief Hindrances to their Succeſs. The vicious Magiſtrate can't put the Laws againſt Vice in execution, without condemning and puniſhing Himſelf, at leaſt by the Reproaches and Stings he muſt feel within. And the virtuous Magiſtrate, if he be not a Man of Spirit and Courage, would fain excuſe himſelf from being ſingular; and therefore ſuffers himſelf to be influenced by the general Example of thoſe in the ſame Station. And what by the Indolence of the one ſort, and the Enmity and Oppoſition of the other, the Deſign is in too great a meaſure at a ſtand. Some can't afford Time to attend to their Part of the Buſineſs; others have not Hearts for it; and others again are moſt heartily ſet againſt the Deſign in general, and will diſcourage it to the uttermoſt; and how then ſhall it be carried on?

But can any Magiſtrate that underſtands his Truſt, and the Obligations of his Office, that hath any Regard for Virtue or Religion, any Love to his Country, or Zeal for the preſent Government, allow himſelf to be indifferent in ſuch a Cauſe? And fold his Hands, and cloſe his Eyes, and with an Heart wholly unconcern'd, let it die, after it hath been carried on ſo long, and with ſo much Succeſs, thro' many Difficulties and violent Oppoſition?

The regulating Mens Manners, " RIGHT " HONOURABLE! and RIGHT WOR- " SHIPFUL! belongs to You by Office. The " Public Peace and Welfare is a Truſt com- " mitted to You. How will you clear your " ſelves of betraying this Truſt, if you hinder " the Reformation, diſcourage the Societies, " or ſeem indifferent to the Deſign in which " they are engaged? How deteſtable a Con- " duct would it be in any Man, to ſtand by and " look on ſilently on a Perſon ſetting Fire to " the City? Why, Fire is but one way of " Ruin, nor is it ſo irreparable as the Deſtru- " ction of public Morality. Is there nothing " precious but Houſes, Goods and Treaſure? " Is not the Peace and Order of Society neceſ- " ſary to preſerve and enjoy theſe Poſſeſſions? " Or is it an indifferent Matter whether our " Sons have any Temperance, our Daughters " any Chaſtity, or our Servants any Honeſty, " or no?

" But conſider your ſelves as *Chriſtian* Ma- " giſtrates, and how much ſtronger is the Obli- " gation? How much more powerful the Mo- " tives? More excellent the Rule? more no- " ble the End? and more glorious the Reward? " And how much more diligent therefore " ſhould your Endeavours be for National Mo- " rality? Can you make any juſt Claim to the " Chriſtian Name, without exerting your ſelves " here? To be a Chriſtian, is to declare Op- " poſition, according to our Place and Power, " againſt the Works of the Devil: Which can " never be reconciled with doing them our " ſelves, or taking Pleaſure in them that do, " or giving any Countenance to them. " A

" A Chriſtian Magiſtrate knows himſelf ap-
" pointed to be *a Terror to them that do Evil,*
" *and a Praiſe and Protection to them that do Well.*
" And can it be a Queſtion with any but the
" ſuffering Criminals, whether executing the
" Laws of the Land, which are the ſame with
" God's, be doing well, or no? You may do a
" great deal with your very Eyes, to ſcatter
" the Evil, or countenance the Good; to hear-
" ten or deaden this Work: In your Hands it
" muſt live, or die. And you muſt be anſwer-
" able for the Conſequences. You are *appointed*
" *to attend continually on this very Thing.* It is
" not a Buſineſs by the By, a Matter of mere
" Condeſcenſion, but the very Reaſon of the
" Inſtitution, and End of your Office. Should
" you make the Execution of the Laws againſt
" open Wickedneſs, difficult and tireſome, our
" very Watchmen would betray us, and they
" who keep the Gates, would let in the Enemy.
" In ſhort, you cannot in this manner betray
" your Truſt, without being treacherous to
" your Redeemer. Better renounce the Name
" of Chriſtians, than bring ſo groſs a Reproach
" upon it, and intimate by your Behaviour,
" that a Chriſtian Magiſtrate is under no Obli-
" gation to his Lord and Saviour, to ſhew
" Diſlike to Vice and Immorality.

" Methinks, if you have any Regard to Vir-
" tue, any Love to your Country, you ſhould
" not be indifferent. The Laws, tho' never
" ſo good, cannot execute themſelves. The
" moſt ſolemn enacting Clauſes are but the
" Shew and Image of Authority, whilſt they
" remain in Parchment only. You muſt give
" Life to them by proper Execution. And is

" it not evident, do you not ſtand convinced,
" that the Laws againſt Immorality and Pro-
" faneneſs are for the Public Good? Is it not
" notoriouſly to the Hurt and Miſchief of the
" Public, that Vice ſhould be licenc'd by being
" under no Controul or Reſtraint? Is not this
" the way to have Buſineſs neglected? To
" have Time, that ſhould be ſpent in Trade
" or Labour, waſted in the Alehouſe, and
" the Stock that ſhould maintain the Family,
" melted down in humouring Mens Luſts?
" And is not this the high Road to Poverty,
" and many times to greater Miſchiefs? Are
" not Tumults and Riots the Reſult of Lewd-
" neſs and Debauchery? And will not thoſe,
" who have put off the Man, be ready for any
" Miſchief that ſhall be ſuggeſted to them?
" The Lewder and more Licentious Men
" grow, muſt not the Miſchief ſtill encreaſe?
" And ſhould you bear the Sword in vain in
" ſuch a threatning Juncture? Can you ſee the
" Miſchief, and ſo plainly trace it back to its
" Original, and yet uſe no Endeavours to pre-
" vent it? Do you complain of the Burthen of
" your Poor? Do you dread the Fury of an
" enraged Rabble? Reduce Men to a ſober
" and virtuous way of living, and you'll eaſe
" your Load, and remove your Fears. And
" can you ſeek the Peace and Welfare of your
" Country, or truly love it, without giving
" Countenance to Endeavours for Reformation?

" After all this, give me Leave to open a
" yet ſadder Scene to your View; and bring
" that into Sight, that muſt ſtrike you, if
" you have any Pity or Humanity: I mean,
" the frequent Condemnations and Executi-

" ons

" ons that happen in this great City. Can
" You that ſit in Judgment, or You that aſſiſt
" on ſuch ſolemn and melancholy Occaſions,
" ſee the many Criminals that are brought out
" to Tryal, and hear the awful Sentence pro-
" nounc'd over ſuch Numbers, without being
" moved ? What muſt that Heart be made of,
" that is not touched with Pity on ſo moving
" an Occaſion ? And can you feel any due
" Compaſſion ſtirring in your Breaſts, and not
" be glad to prevent Things coming to this
" Extremity ? Let theſe Criminals then ſpeak,
" and they will own, That Drunkenneſs, Pro-
" fanation of the Lord's Day, Reſort to Hou-
" ſes of Lewdneſs, and learning to blaſpheme
" the Name of God and Things ſacred, were
" the Introduction to their more Capital, I can
" hardly ſay more Criminal, Enormities. Let
" the Laws then be put in Execution, and
" theſe Offences puniſhed, and it would ſtop
" Men in the Beginnings of a vicious Courſe,
" and prevent ſuch numerous Executions. *Ne-*
" *mo repente fit turpiſſimus.*

" But to all in Power who have any Zeal for
" the preſent Government, I have another
" Conſideration yet to offer, to engage their
" Countenance and Encouragement to all At-
" tempts for Reformation. When Men grow
" corrupt in their Morals, and greatly criminal
" and vicious in their Lives, they are loſt to a
" true Senſe of our Religion and Liberty, and
" cannot be concern'd in Principle or Affection
" for a Government, deſigned for the Preſer-
" vation of both. Unreſtrained Vice will ex-
" tinguiſh all generous Sentiments of the Dig-
" nity of Humane Nature, the Glory of civi-
" lized

" lized Manners, and the Peace and Happineſs " of a well-regulated ſocial Life. Theſe are " the great Bleſſings of Liberty which make it " deſirable. But can this ever be expected " from thoſe, whoſe licentious Inclinations " make them chiefly delight in Confuſion and " Diſorder? Far from endeavouring to main- " tain the Bleſſings of Liberty, they are at " hand, whenever wanted, to help on a Mob, " a Tumult, a ſeditious Riot. Theſe are Men " to be depended on, ready for any Miſchief " a bold and intriguing Head ſhall lead them " to.

" A *Roman* Hiſtorian has made an Obſerva- " tion much to this Purpoſe, on the Method " *Catiline* took to ſtrengthen his Conſpiracy: " He placed much Hope in the Debauchery " and corrupt State of *Rome*, when he formed " his Deſign to ruin the Liberties of his Coun- " try. *In ſo great and corrupt a City* (ſays my " Author †) Catiline, *as he eaſily might, got* " *great Crowds of the moſt wicked and flagitious* " *Perſons to be, as it were, his Guards. For every* " *lewd Wretch, that, by Gaming, Gluttony, or* " *Luſt, had waſted his Patrimony, and contracted* " *vaſt Debts*; —— *In a Word, all who were de-* " *bauched, indigent, or conſcious of any heinous* " *Crime,*

† In tantâ tamque corruptâ Civitate, *Catilina*, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitioſorum atque facinoroſorum circum ſe tanquam ſtipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; —— Poſtremo, omnes quos flagitium, egeſtas, conſcius animus exagitabat, hi *Catilinæ* proxumi familia- reſque

" *Crime, are* Catiline's *Friends and Intimates.*
" *And if any innocent Perſon happened into his*
" *Acquaintance, he quickly became like the reſt.*
" *Depending upon theſe dear and ſure Aſſociates,*
" Catiline *formed a Deſign to deſtroy the Com-*
" *monwealth.*

" How often has this Obſervation been veri-
" fied ſince King GEORGE's happy Acceſſion,
" That Enemies to their Country are ſure of
" the moſt hearty Friends in the vicious and
" debauched Part of the Nation? Who are
" they that have been the Readieſt all along
" to Inſult his Government, to diſturb the
" Peace and Quiet of the Nation under it, both
" in City and Country, by Mobs, Riots, and
" rebellious Inſurrections, but thoſe, whom a
" due Execution of the Laws againſt their o-
" ther diſorderly Practices would have laid in
" the Stocks, or in *Bridewell?* As the Reaſon
" of this is natural and perpetual, nothing elſe
" can be expected from them. Their Vices
" render them irreconcileable Enemies to Li-
" berty: For true Liberty implies the Preſer-
" vation of every Man's natural and legal
" Rights; and therefore is as much broken in
" upon by the Inſolent Licentiouſneſs of the
" Vicious, as by the Arbitrary Invaſions of a
" Tyrant's Will. And it is as great an Enemy
" to all lawleſs and tumultuous Practices that
" affect the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of

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reſque erant. Quod ſi quis etiam à culpâ vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano uſu atque illecebris facilè par, ſimiliſque cæteris efficiebatur. His amicis ſociiſque confiſus, *Catilina* opprimundæ Reip. Conſilium cepit. *Saluſt. Bellum Catilinarium.*

" what a Man poſſeſſes, as it is to Tyranny, " which renders his Right and Poſſeſſion pre- " carious: For which Reaſon Vice and Ty- " ranny are eaſily brought into a Confederacy " to deſtroy Liberty.

" Now it being the Glory of the *King's* " Throne, to ſupport and be ſupported by the " Liberties of a brave *People*, all who have an " Affection for either, ſhould look upon im- " moral and vicious Perſons, as Confederates " with the *Pretender* againſt the Crown and " Government of our gracious King, and all " the valuable Liberties of our dear Country.

" Thoſe who ſee not at firſt how much vi- " cious Men are Enemies to the *State*, yet " *muſt* be forc'd to own it when we conſider " their Enmity to the *Proteſtant Reformation*: " How eaſy it is to ſtep from thence to an En- " mity to the Proteſtant *Succeſſion*, every one " muſt ſee. The Proteſtant Doctrine makes " real Reformation eſſential to true Religion; " and that in Life and Manners, as well as " Faith and Worſhip. Now this creates un- " conquerable Averſion to it, in the Liber- " tine. And how can ſuch be zealous to ſup- " port a Government, for the ſake of preſer- " ving a Religion, to Them, the moſt grievous " and inſupportable of Any?

" Beſides, Popery has long uſed the accur- " ſed Policy of accommodating it ſelf, as to " ſome Mens Ambition, ſo to all Mens Vices. " How well does it ſuit a Libertine to hear of a " religious Project that offers an Expedient to " reconcile a lewd and vicious Life with the " Hopes of Eternal Happineſs? To hear they " may eſcape the Sentence and Condemnation

" of

" of God's Law, by the ſame Method of Inte-
" reſt or Money, in which, it is to be feared,
" they have often eluded the Laws of their
" Country? And though from their own Acti-
" ons they have reaſon to fear all the Judg-
" ments threatned by God's Law, they may
" yet have what Stock of Merit they pleaſe in
" the Pope's general Bank, and fully ſecure
" their laſt Chance, by Pardons, Indulgences,
" Abſolutions, and Extreme Unctions. * What
" Rake, or what Strumpet would not join in
" the Cry for High-Church, Popery, and the
" Pretender, when they bring with them the
" admirable Secret of aſſigning to the Rake
" the Devotion of an Anchoret, and to the
" lewd Woman the Chaſtity of a Nun? No
" wonder ſuch Perſons fill the Cry of, *No* Ha-
" noverians, *No Low-Church.* They would be
" as ready to cry, *No Hereſy, No Proteſtant:*
" For there is no greater Hereſy to them, than
" a Doctrine which requires Purity of Man-
" ners, and virtuous Actions.

" Have you any Concern then, *Gentlemen,*
" *in the Magiſtracy*! for the Security of a Go-
" vernment, that is the Security of your Re-
" ligion and Liberties? You ſee how much it
" ſhould be your Buſineſs, how much 'tis your

---

* *'Tis a wonderful Paſſage to our Purpoſe, that we have even in a Popiſh Writer*; Gaude mater noſtra Roma, ſuper iniquitate filiorum hominum; decanta Canticum quia per malitiam hominum, non per tuam Religionem, orbem viciſti. Ad te trahit homines, non ipſorum Devotio, aut pura Conſcientia, ſed ſcelerum multiplicium perpetratio, & litium Deciſio, precio comparata. *Abbas Urſpergenſ. Chron.* p. 321.

" Duty and Intereſt, to reform the Manners " of the People: And to countenance and " help forward all honourable Endeavours of " the *Societies* towards it. Open Vices and " Immoralities, encourag'd or unreſtrain'd, " are the moſt dangerous Enemies to our pre- " ſent Eſtabliſhment; the great Originals of " the many Tumults and Riots that have been " excited among us; and the Occaſion of that " great Fondneſs for the Popiſh Religion, and " a Popiſh Pretender, which hath been ſo o- " penly declared of late. You cannot but ſee " this, if you will open your Eyes: And how " can you anſwer it to your King, your Coun- " try, your Poſterity, to give the leaſt Diſ- " couragement to thoſe who generouſly labour " to reform the Age? Should you not rather " give the utmoſt Encouragement to them, " and make their Work as eaſy as you can?

" Muſt they give over the Attempt becauſe " you have not Leiſure, that is, not Inclina- " tion to lend them any Help? How far, and " wide muſt the miſchievous Conſequences of " ſuch Conduct, in you, extend? Not only " great Part of the Kingdom, but many other " Nations, kindled by the Zeal of our Socie- " ties, and formed upon their Model, have " gone on ſo vigorouſly as to be Examples to " their Originals. Can we then who had the " Honour to bring them into the Field, de- " ſert them in the noble Warfare, but to our " eternal Confuſion and Diſgrace? And can " Magiſtrates, who have any Regard for Vir- " tue, or Senſe of Religion, from mere Indo- " lence and Love to Eaſe, lend an hand to " bring us under this Reproach?

" Think,

" Think, GENTLEMEN, what will become
" of us, if you ſuffer theſe *Societies* to be bro-
" ken, or born down. For if while they op-
" poſe their whole Force, backed with your
" Authority, it is as much as they can do to
" make an honourable Stand; If the Wretches
" that debauch our Children and Servants,
" and train up for the Gallows, can find Mo-
" ney, Friends and Advocates to entangle the
" Proſecutions, and by increaſing the Difficulty
" and Charge, make the Law a Terror to
" them that do well; If thoſe Laws that fence
" about your Property, and guard your Peace,
" are ſo often violated now, If Religion is not
" only neglected but inſulted, the Sabbath
" profaned, and God blaſphemed; If Diſſo-
" luteneſs and Debauchery now face the Sun,
" and often outbrave both Heaven and You at
" once; Good God! what would it be if there
" were None to call for Juſtice? If there were
" None to make the Laws heard and felt, or
" Sinners afraid, by the due Execution of them,
" which is their only Significancy. The De-
" vil would return upon us with *ſeven Spirits*
" *worſe than the former.* All future Attempts
" for a reforming Society would be laught out
" of Countenance: And a Flood of Iniquity,
" that has been long ſwelling on its Dam,
" would at length bear down All before it.
" Sin would be triumphant. The very Laws
" againſt Immorality would become obſolete,
" or voted a *Publick Nuiſance, and Abridg-*
" *ment of the Peoples Liberty.* Can you call
" your ſelves Chriſtians, and profeſs any Love
" to Virtue or good Manners, and not dread
" Things coming to this paſs? Or is it not ra-

" ther

" ther of the laſt Importance that you ſhould
" exert your ſelves to prevent it?

" Let me urge this one Conſideration far-
" ther upon you, That as the forming theſe
" SOCIETIES was one of the happieſt
" Omens to the Nation; ſo the Disbanding
" or giving over their Endeavours for want of
" due Encouragement from You, would be
" the moſt threatning Preſage of God's giving
" us up as a People that *hate to be reform'd.*
" Over whom he might pronounce, *He that*
" *is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill:* or what was
" formerly the Sentence of an abandon'd Peo-
" ple, *The Bellows are burnt; the Lead is con-*
" *ſumed in the Fire; the Founder melteth in*
" *vain, for the Wicked are not plucked away: Re-*
" *probate Silver ſhall Men count them, becauſe*
" *the Lord hath rejected them.* You ſee at whoſe
" Door, in a great meaſure, the Rejection of
" your Country is like to lye. If you can be
" content the Weight of ſuch a Guilt ſhould
" reſt upon You, we are at a ſad paſs indeed.
" The Lord have Mercy upon us."

FINIS.

THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. X.

AN

ADDRESS

To The

CLERGY

In Relation to the

SOCIETIES

FOR

Reformation of Manners.

The Scandal brought upon Religion, as it was not contracted by the Irregularities of One or Two Perſons, but by aſſociated and common Crimes; ſo neither will it be removed by a few ſingle and private Reformations. There muſt be Combinations and Publick Confederacies in Vertue; to ballance and counterpoiſe thoſe of Vice; or ſhe will never recover that Honour which ſhe acquired by the General Piety of her Profeſſors.

Cauſes of the Decay of Piety; By the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man.*

LONDON:

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AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

CLERGY

In Relation to the SOCIETIES for REFORMATION of MANNERS.



THE uſual Limits of this Paper not allowing me to proceed on the laſt Subject, I ſhall now addreſs my ſelf to the *Clergy*, as I did before to the *Magiſtrate*, earneſtly requeſting that Reverend Body, that they would more generally and heartily own and aſſiſt the *Societies for Reformation of Manners*. I hope the Preſumption of being their *Monitor*, tho' with Deference and Reſpect, will be pardon'd to the Zeal for the Honour of their *Order*, and the Welfare of the *Societies*; as the former has met with particular Favour and Regard.

I think it has already ſufficiently appear'd, that *Societies* are neceſſary to carry on ſuch an

Undertaking as that of Reforming a *vitious Age*. The worthy Societies form'd among Us have had conſiderable Encouragement from many of the Clergy: I find them particularly animated in the laſt *Account of their Progreſs*, by the noble Paſſage of the celebrated Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, which I have plac'd in the *Title Page*. The Sermons preach'd to them by ſome of the Right Reverend the *Biſhops*, and Others of the *Leading Clergy*, have given them great Countenance, and had a very good Effect. 'Tis with real Regret I'm forc'd to obſerve, That many of the Younger Men, and thoſe who have more lately enter'd into *Holy Orders*, have conceiv'd Prejudices in their Mind, and are leſs friendly diſpos'd to them: I believe I may ſay for them, That no Diſcouragements would be ſo great, as thoſe which ariſe from that Quarter.

I know there are ſome, who would not be thought to be againſt the *Reformation* it ſelf, who yet ſpeak againſt the *Preſent Societies*: But it were to be wiſh'd, ſuch Perſons would propoſe ſome better *Model*, or produce ſome new *Expedients*, and ſhew more proper *Methods* of Proceeding, than thoſe which are now purſu'd. If they cannot do this, 'tis no Injuſtice to ſuppoſe, That they who talk againſt the *Preſent Societies*, let their Pretenſions be what they will, are againſt *Reformation* it ſelf.

For my own Part, I muſt confeſs it appears very plain and rational, That thoſe Men ſhould be eſteem'd and valu'd as moſt Serviceable to the Deſign of Reforming our City and Nation, who have known all the Steps taken from the Beginning of ſuch a Work; who

are

are acquainted by Experience with the beſt Methods of Diſcovering, Convicting, and Puniſhing the vitious Part of the World; and who have ſhewn their Sincerity and prevailing Concern for publick Morality, when it has been to their own Coſt, and in ſpight of the greateſt Hatred and Oppoſition. And whoever is acquainted with the Spirit and Temper of theſe *Societies*, would eaſily be ſenſible, that they would be far from taking it amiſs to have any Miſtakes laid before them, or have further Counſel and Advice offer'd, where they are thought in the Wrong, or any ſhall appear concern'd to ſet them Right.

There is one Thing would be highly pleaſing to them, and would very much tend to take the Work out of their Hands; and that is, "If the Clergy would more frequently "conſult with one another for the Good of "Religion;" 'Tis the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Advice in a Circular Letter in 1699. "And that the Clergy in their ſeveral Pariſhes "ſhould invite the Church-Wardens, and "other pious Perſons among the Laity, to "joyn with them in the Execution of the "moſt probable Methods to break any evil "Cuſtom. Theſe Pariſh Meetings are to be "directed and animated by that noble Zeal "wherewith ſo many in theſe great Cities do "promote true Piety and Reformation of "Manners."

And if in thoſe Meetings any thing ſhould occur which requir'd further Skill and Experience, or more Strength, for the right and ſucceſsful Management of it; it ſhould be eſteem'd a great Advantage to have recourſe

to

to theſe greater Societies. 'Tis therefore argu'd in the *Circular Letter*, " That ſince our " Lawgivers have enacted Temporal Puniſh- " ments on purpoſe to aſſiſt in the Diſcharge " of our Miniſtry, it would be a great Failing " in us not to make uſe of them, when all " other Methods have been tried to no Effect. " Every pious Perſon of the Laity ſhould (if " need be) be put in Mind by the Clergy, " That he ought to think himſelf oblig'd to " uſe his beſt Endeavours to have ſuch Offen- " ders puniſh'd by the Civil Magiſtrate, as " can no otherways be amended; and that " when he hears his Neighbour *Swear*, or *Blaſ-* " *pheme* the Name of God, or ſees him offend " in *Drunkenneſs*, or *Profanation* of the Lord's- " Day, he *ought not to neglect* to give the *Ma-* " *giſtrate* Notice of it." Now as there are certain Caſes, in which they, who aſſociate in leſſer Numbers in each Pariſh, could not ſo well manage the neceſſary Proſecutions of ſome Immoralities in their own Neighbourhood; ſo does it make larger Societies (like thoſe now among Us) the more requiſite and deſirable; that, as Occaſions preſs, they may be advis'd with, and Matters of Difficulty put into their Hands.

And that every Clergyman is oblig'd thus to promote the Proſecution of Vice and Immorality, by the very *Law* of the Land, is evident from the Appointment, " To read pub- " lickly in their Churches four Times a Year " the Proclamation againſt Vice and Propha- " neſs." To enforce the Obſervation of this Appointment, the late Biſhop of *London*, in a Circular Letter to the Clergy in his Dioceſs, has

has theſe Words; "Would it not be a ſhame-
"full Reproach to us, a great Part of whoſe
"Buſineſs it ought to be, to watch againſt
"theſe Sins, to be foun'd tardy in thoſe Op-
"portunities which the Laws have given us,
"to warn People of their wicked Courſes.
They who in Contempt of all this have be-
come of late ſo Zealous for the *Church*, as to
vilify Attempts for the *Reformation of Man-
ners*, muſt raiſe very ſtrong Suſpicions, either
that they mean no very good Church, or that
they Themſelves are no very good Men.

A Deſign of Reformation and to put a Stop
to the Impudence of Vice, that boldly bids
Defiance to all the Laws of our Country, as
well as the Laws of God, juſtly claims the
Countenance and Encouragement of all Ver-
tuous Men, and all who wiſh well to the
Peace and Happineſs of the Nation: But
certainly there is the higheſt Reaſon to expect
from the *Reverend Clergy*, all the Help and
Aſſiſtance they can give; that They will rea-
dily join their Hearts and Hands, and im-
prove all the Advantages their Sacred
Character gives them, not only upon all Ac-
counts Common to other Men, but eſpecially
as tis ſo much their proper Buſineſs, and the
great Aim of their Holy Office. 'Tis for the
ſame End theſe *Vertuous Societies* propoſe to
Promote in another Way, that they have the
Character of *Watch-men*; to *ſpeak* in the Name
of God, to *warn* the Wicked of his Wicked
Way, and *ſave* his Life: Of *Overſeers, to
take heed* to themſelves and to all the Flock;
to *feed* the Church of God which he hath pur-
chaſed with his own Blood: Of *Stewards* of
the

the Myſtery of God, *holding forth* the faithful Word as they have been taught, that they may be able, by ſound Doctrine, both to *exhort* and *convince* the Gainſayers; to convince Men and bring them to *conſent* to the Words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and the *Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs.* 'Tis the more effectually to carry on the ſame uſeful and neceſſary Deſign, They are commiſſioned in ſpeaking of theſe Things to *exhort and Rebuke with all Authority*; to enforce and Strengthen their Exhortations with the higheſt Authority of Almighty God; the awful Powers of another World, and all the Engagement which the Love and Benefits of the Saviour of Men, can lay them under.

As theſe are the Characters, this the proper Buſineſs of all the Miniſters of the Chriſtian Religion, it plainly appears they have one and the ſame General Deſign with theſe Societies, however diſtinct and different the Ways may be, wherein they mutually concur with Each Other, to attain it. And may they not reaſonably expect from the Care and Sincerity, which ſo ſtrictly belongs to a religious Character, they ſhall always find them Ready and Zealous to ſupport ſo Excellent a Deſign, and help by their Doctrine and frequent Exhortations to make it effectual.

And there is ſtill greater Reaſon for this, becauſe ſo great a Part of the *Doctrines* of Chriſtianity do immediately regard the Reformation of Mankind; and all of them have it finally in their View, as one of the Principal Ends and Deſigns of the whole. Their Judgment and Underſtanding in the

Religion

Religion they publickly teach, will lead them moſt frequently to inculcate on Men's Minds thoſe Parts of it which moſt frequently occur in the Sacred Writings, and with a Zeal proportionate to their Weight. They will let them know, That *every one who names the Name of Chriſt, is to depart from Iniquity*: That the *End of the Commandment is Charity, out of a pure Heart, and of a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned; knowing that the Law is not made for a righteous Man, but for the Lawleſs and Diſobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, for the Unholy and Prophane*, &c.

Whenever they explain the common *Faith* of Chriſtians, how can they omit putting them in mind, whom they would faithfully inſtruct, That *Faith without Works is dead*; and letting them ſee in the Example of *Abraham*, *How Faith wrought with his Works, and by Works was Faith made perfect*; and fairly acquainting them, *Tho' they have all Faith, ſo that they could remove Mountains, and have no Charity*, (that *Love which is the fulfilling of the Law*) *they are nothing*. Whenever they warm the *Hopes* of their Hearers, and ſet before them the glorious Proſpect of an happy Immortality, and eternal Life; will they not at the ſame time tell them, That this Hope belongs to them who by *patient Continuance in Well-doing ſeek for Glory, and Honour, and Immortality*. Will they not take the Advantage, ſo ſtrong and prevalent a Motive gives them, to animate all who have ſuch a Hope in them to behave as becomes themſelves in ſuch a Character, and with ſuch an Expectation; to *purify themſelves as he is pure*: And according to the Inſtructions the *Grace of God which bringeth Salvation*, teaches, *That the denying Ungodlineſs and*

Worldly Luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World, looking for that bleſſed Hope, and the glorious Appearance of the Great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Whenever they open to their View any thing of the Perfection or *Happineſs* of that bleſſed State and Place where they are to enjoy the Promiſe of eternal Life, can they forget 'tis a Place *wherein dwelleth Happineſs*; and that there ſhall in *no wiſe enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatſoever worketh Abomination.* When on the other Hand, They awaken Men's juſt *Concern* in the Apprehenſion of everlaſting and inſupportable Miſery; will they not faithfully tell them, That this *Wrath of God is reveal'd againſt Unrighteouſneſs:* That the *Fearful, and Unbelieving, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolators, and all Lyers, ſhall have their Portion in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond Death.* Thus as all the weighty Principles of Chriſtianity, and warmeſt Motives of our Religion, center all in this; To diſcourage and diſſwade all Wickedneſs and Vice, to encourage and promote all Holineſs and Vertue. They who are engag'd in the Work of *Reformation*, may reaſonably promiſe themſelves a great deal of Help from all the good Impreſſions the pious Eloquence of the Clergy can make upon their Hearers Minds: And eſpecially as they have it in Charge from the great Preacher and Apoſtle, *This is a faithful Saying, and theſe Things I will that thou affirm conſtantly, That they who have believed in God ſhould be careful to maintain good Works: Theſe Things are good and profitable unto Men*; and have the higheſt and moſt honourable Precedents all along.

along, *Noah*, the *firſt Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, *warned* the old World of their general Corruption: Juſt *Lot* was *vexed* with the filthy Converſation of wicked *Sodom*: The *Prophets* are every where fired with a ſacred Zeal againſt the Immoralities of the *Jews*: The holy *Apoſtle*'s Spirit was *moved* within him at the ſtupid Idolatry of the *Athenians*: The *Son* of God himſelf, the *Apoſtle and High-Prieſt of our Profeſſion*, never appear'd ſo ſevere, as againſt open Profanation and ſcandalous Vices of Men pretending to Religion.

A vigorous Promoting the *Reformation of Manners* would be a conſiderable Means to leſſen the Occaſion of the more ſevere Parts of the *Diſcipline* of the Church, and has a Tendency to reſtore and ſtrengthen it. The Want of a *Godly Diſcipline*, as in the Primitive Times, is once a Year lamented. But what would you do? Suſpend and Excommunicate the greater Part of the Pariſh? There's no room for Diſcipline, where Vice has the Majority by ſo many Odds; and if it were to be Impartial, the Miniſter muſt be ſorrily attended. Corruption is too epidemical, and you don't know where it will end. The Fear of ſending People to the *Diſſenters*, I doubt is but a Pretence; for, if I am rightly inform'd, they exerciſe a ſtricter Diſcipline than the Church; and would not be likely to receive one who has paſs'd the Churches Cenſures for Immorality, without Evidence of Repentance.

The leſſer Cauſes of Excommunication, ſuch as Non-Appearance upon Citation, not ſubmitting to the Injunctions of the Court for Coſts of Suit and Proctors Fees, Striking in a Church, *&c.* will hardly be thought Matters

for which Men ſhould be *given to the Devil*; For thoſe which may be thought more nearly to endanger the Soul; as *Incontinence*, *Perjury*, *Idolatry*, &c. the beſt Way to prevent them, is to aſſiſt in the Work of *Reformation of Manners*. 'Tis *Vice* as often as *Free Thinking*, which leads Men into *Hereſy*. You have often told us from the Pulpit, That Men firſt contract vitious Habits, and then ſeek out for Principles to ſupport them; and there is many a Man, who, had his Manners been reform'd, his Paſſions regular, and Luſts ſubdu'd, would never have gone into thoſe Opinions which were neceſſary for the Eaſe of his Mind; and which he would never have maintain'd if he had not needed them, and were more needful to him as a vitious Man, than deciſive of his heretical Character.

It muſt be the Burden of your Souls to excommunicate Perſons, whom you really think to be thereby turned out of the Kingdom of God. It muſt be more ſo ſtill, if upon Reflection you diſcern, That the Sentence might have been prevented, by aſſiſting more early to reform their Manners. *Prevention is better than Cure*; and the Maxim is ſtill more regardable, where the Method of Cure has ſomething in it extreamly painful; *For the Deſtruction of the Fleſh, that the Spirit may be ſaved in the Day of the Lord.* I know the Head of Excommunication and Diſcipline is a common Topick of Raillery, and lies too open to it: But who are the Men that treat it with Contempt as a *Brutum fulmen*, and are ready to ſay, *Deliver us from the Jaylor*, (who indeed has no more Part or Lot in this Matter by the Laws of the Goſpel, than *Simon Magus* had in

the

the Holy Ghoſt) *and we'll venture the Devil?* Who are the Deſpiſers even of all that is ſerious in it, but thoſe whom your ſelves have not aſſiſted to reform?

You often complain from the Pulpit, and very juſtly too, of the Number of thoſe who, like the *Philiſtine*, *deſy* the Living God, laugh at Religion, inſult you and your Miniſtry: Help us to reform theſe Men's vitious Lives, or ceaſe to complain of their Outrage. You may Preach and Write to Perpetuity, and Think and Speak with Accuracy and Eloquence; you may go on to do ſo long enough, for any thing I ſee, unleſs by helping on the *Reformation*, you diſpoſe Men to ſome tolerable Capacity of being the better for what you ſay. Other Endeavours to reform the World will ſtill be, I fear, without this among the *Labour's in vain*. The *White Sheet* comes too late, after inordinate Luſts, Senſuality and Lewdneſs, have put Men upon getting rid of ſuch Principles as would not let them be eaſy. To turn Men out of the Church, will be no Heart-breaking Thing to them who never cared to come into it; and to be kept from the Sacrament, no very great Affliction to one that would not come at it but for his Commiſſion, and then you muſt look to it how you refuſe him.

There is, indeed, a Canon in the Church which obliges Miniſters to keep off the notoriouſly Wicked: * *No Miniſter ſhall in anywiſe admit to the Receiving the Holy Communion any of his Cure or Flock, which he openly knows to live in Sin without Repentance, nor any who have malitiouſly and openly contended with their Neighbours, until*

* *Can.* 26.

until they ſhall be reconciled. Nor any Church-warden or Sideſman, who having taken their Oaths to preſent to their Ordinary all ſuch publick Offences as they are particularly charged to enquire of in their ſeveral Pariſhes, (notwithſtanding their ſaid Oaths, and that their faithful Diſcharge of them is the chief Means whereby publick Sins and Offences may be reformed and puniſhed) wittingly and willingly, deſperately and irreligiouſly, incur the horrible Crime of Perjury, either in neglecting or refuſing to prevent ſuch of the ſaid Enormities and publick Offences, as they know themſelves to be committed in their ſaid Pariſhes, &c. It would make ſuch Injunctions ſit more eaſy upon them, and be more conſiſtent, and leſs needful, if every Clergyman who is thus obliged, by his Diligence towards *Reformation* in his Pariſh, ſhould be able to ſhew, there are none ſuch who are notoriouſly Wicked.

I own if exact Preſentations were made according to the Canon, they are bound by the Preſent Conſtitution to carry them into the Spiritual Courts, and what becomes of them when they are lodg'd there, all the World knows. 'Tis the Grief and Complaint of the Vertuous Clergy, that inſtead of impoſing ſuitable Penances, Money ſhall be extorted, by thoſe who have ſhewn, that 'tis not only in *Italy*, that Indulgences are ſet to ſale; but among the Reformed too, Men may be allowed to ruin their Souls, and go to Hell very quietly, if they will but pay Tole at a certain Place for their Paſſage.

The Magiſtrate's puniſhing open Vice, and the Societies formed to aſſiſt him in it, can never be thought an Encroachment upon the Church's *Peculium*, ſince the Magiſtrate only

only conſiders theſe Things as *affecting the Publick Good:* And as Members of the Civil Community, that Publick Good is what you wiſh for too, and are equally bound to contribute to as much as you can in your own Station. *You* indeed are not to reſt here, but aim at ſomething farther; to exalt Mens Principles and Motives into a Religious Quality, and carry their Views into another World as much as you can: 'Tis in this Light I would always read that Part of the Form of Ordaining Prieſts; * *Wherefore conſider with your ſelves the End of your Miniſtry towards the Children of God, towards the Spouſe and Body of Chriſt, and ſee that you never ceaſe your Care, Labour and Diligence, till you have done all that lieth in you according to your bounden Duty, to bring all ſuch as are or ſhall be committed to your Charge, unto that Agreement in Faith and Knowledge of God, and to that Ripeneſs and Perfection of Age in Chriſt, that there be no Place left among you, either of Error in Religion* or VITIOUSNESS OF LIFE.

You muſt aſſiſt us in the Reformation, not only that Sacred Adminiſtrations may be the more Effectual, but leſs Burdenſome to your own Minds: For according to the Doctrine of the Church, Unreformed and Notorious Sinners have no Right at all to partake of the Sacrament: She appoints the Curate to † *advertiſe and admoniſh ſuch as theſe, that in any wiſe they preſume not to come*; no not in ‖ *anywiſe*, tho' a Commiſſion depends upn it. In her Exhortation ſhe tells us, that it is to be adminiſtred only tothoſe who are *Devoutly and Religiouſly*

* *Sparrow, p.* 125. † *Rub. Com.* ‖ *Exh. before Com.*

Religiouſly diſpoſed. And if any who do not repent of their Sins, but live in them without Amendment, come to the Communion, it does nothing elſe but * *increaſe their Damnation.* And we are told, that Perſons who live in Variance and Contention, or in any known Sin, muſt not be admitted, becauſe 'tis *contrary to the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, and that ſuch Perſons *Drink Damnation to Themſelves. i. e.* as the Church explains it, † *Diſeaſes, Death, and the Wine of Gods Wrath.* Is it not Matter of the deepeſt concern to ſee Men guilty of the higheſt Impurity, thruſting forward to the Holy Communion, who ought rather to be driven from it. Some who but a few Hours before were venturing their Lives in the Quarrel of a Strumpet; Others who ſpent the laſt Night in Revelling and Drunkeneſs; Others who juſt before the Communion were Belching out Oaths and Curſes, and ſoon after the Benediction is pronounced, will pour out whole Vollies of them again; muſt it not be with a Paſſionate Grief that a Good Miniſter ſees the Holy Bread and Wine touched by ſuch polluted Hands, and unhallowed Mouths, eſpecially when there is reaſon to fear, as the Church directs, * *leſt the Devil ſhould enter into them as he did into* Judas, *to fill them full of all Iniquity and bring them to Deſtruction of Body and Soul.* And while you have any Regard to the Honour of God Almighty, the Purity of his Sacrament, and the real good of Mens Souls, you muſt needs apprehend it Neceſſary to aſſiſt in reforming the Manners of Men, and that we may not always

* *Q. Eliz. Injunct. apud Sparrow, p.* 711.
† *Exh. before Commun.* * *Ibid.*

always lye under the ſevere Reflection which the A. B. of *Spalato* once paſſed upon us, *That he ſaw nothing reformed among us but our Doctrine.*

'Tis to be hoped the Laws will eaſe you of one Occaſion of burdenſome Reflection on this Point, and that you will concur towards the eaſing your own Minds as to others, by ſuch a Reformation as may leave none of ſuch a Character to ſhelter Themſelves under, and pollute your Altars: And without this the niceſt Compoſions and the fierceſt Zeal, will ſcarce be ſufficient to ſupport the Church: It will ſtand as tottering as the *Ark of God* did formerly in *Uzzah*'s Cart; for rather then not *make Proviſion for the fleſh to fulfill the Luſts thereof*, They'll turn our very Churches into Taverns, and Drink Wine like *Belſhazzer* with his Concubines *in the Bowels of the Temple*: And as much as we abhor the Remembrance of their being heretofore turned into Stables, they will then be filled with the worſe Sort of Beaſts of the two.

There is nothing more Deſirable in it ſelf, or more Neceſſary to the Common Intereſt, then *Union* among Proteſtants: It comes now recommended to us from the *Throne* with a wiſe and generous Concern, and 'tis certainly the Duty and Intereſt of all the Miniſters of the *Prince of Peace* to eccho to the Royal Voice, and purſue ſo Noble a Deſign. We may learn the proper *Methods* from our Enemies. The Steps they take to Deſtroy the Reformation will ſuggeſt the Counter Methods in which we muſt diſappoint them. Now the chief of their Engines is to *divide* and *debauch* us; to ſet us together by the Ears, and ruin our Morals. And theſe Engines help Each other in their Operation. By dividing and Engaging us in fierce Conten-

tions, they bring on a Neglect of Morality, and make us firſt Cold to Each other and then Fierce and Cruel. 'Tis an eaſy, tho' I cannot ſay a juſt Inference, that if Men of Vertue and Sobriety, and great Pretenders to Religion, ſhall tear and worry one Another with a Scandalous Rudneſs, and brutiſh Rage; a good natur'd Sot or Senſualiſt, who does no body any Harm, and only purſues his Pleaſures at his own Coſt, acts his Part with the greater Innocence of the two. In the Heat of an angry Diſpute a favourite Opinion or Practice looks ſo Conſiderable and is tho't ſo Important, that Mens Vices are overlooked and countenanced, if they can be brought into the Service and made to promote it; and to the infinite Scandal of the Reformation and hardening Multitudes in their Sins, a Debauchee or an Atheiſt, who never owns a God, but by Swearing profanely by his Name, paſſes for a Chriſtian, and is thought a ſupport of a Chriſtian and Divine Eſtabliſhment.

On the other Hand, Corruption of Manners has a manifeſt Influence to widen and perpetuate our *Differences*. A looſe and ſenſual Mind will always have a ſecret Enmity at Religion and Reformation, tho' a looſe and Debauched Life is only at open Defiance with it; and ſuch Men will eaſily fall in with any thing to ſtop the Progreſs of it, and run eagerly into needleſs Diſputes, which are always found ſo fatal to it. Perhaps they ſometimes find their own Account in other Peoples Quarrels and ſerve themſelves of the Paſſions and Follies of thoſe about them: Thus Worldly Politicians, who have a ſecret Contempt of all Religion, can yet manage a religious Contention with great Dexterity, to reach their wretched Ends. Many Vices have a natural Tendency to enflame

enflame Mens Paſſions, and kindle Reſentment and Rage; and they who hate all the Ties of real Religion, and yet cannot raze out all religious Impreſſions from their Minds, will eaſily fall into ſuch Meaſures as they think will atone for their Crimes, and compound for their other Enormities. 'Tis eaſy for a Head inflamed with Wine or Luſt, to get into a feavouriſh Zeal for a Phantome or a Shadow, and run upon all of a different Mind with fierce Indignation and Rage. 'Tis commonly ſeen in religious Quarrels, thoſe of the leaſt Religion, as well as Knowledge, are the moſt furious *Zealots*, while the wiſe and Good, have larger Views and are more Temperate in diſputable Matters. Every one knows that Corruption of Manners was always thought the likelieſt Expedient to make Men ſit looſe to their Principles, and prepare the Way to a foreign Religion; and thoſe of our *Princes* who diſcovered the greateſt Inclination to *Popery*, have ſhewed the leaſt Regard to the Virtue and *Morality* of the People, and the greateſt Readineſs to humour and indulge their Vices.

The Corruption of our Morals is at preſent the great Diſturber of our Quiet, the great Divider of *Proteſtants*, and the moſt miſchievous Inſtrument of our religious Quarrels: Could our *Vices* be ſuppreſt, our *Paſſions* would cool, and our *Quarrels* ceaſe; we ſhould again look upon one another with Kindneſs, and ſhew a more general Regard to the common Good; mutual Converſation and Acquaintance together, would abate our Prejudices, and ſoften our Minds. If our Zeal was united in an hearty Oppoſition to the common Enemy of all Religion, we ſhould ſcarce be at Variance about leſſer Matters, in which we might happen to differ: For 'tis not *Diſagreement*

in Opinion, but *Diſcord* and *Contention* about it, which does the Miſchief, and lays us open to our common Enemies, who have then found us an eaſy Prey to themſelves, when they had firſt engaged us in Quarrels among our ſelves. Nothing would be more effectual to unite the Lovers of Piety and Vertue, than an hearty Concurrence in this glorious Deſign; becauſe 'tis what they are all agreed in already, and would ſo naturally tend to bring them nearer to one another. And ſhall the Miniſters of *Peace* and Aſſerters of *Unity*, need to be entreated to bear their Part, or even ſet the Example of a well-temper'd Zeal in ſo good a Matter! To ſhew themſelves Lovers of Vertue, and Friends of Mankind, in the Intereſt of their Country and their Prince, and the Strength and Glory of the Church?

They who bear a ſincere Affection to Religion, and the Miniſters of it, cannot but deſire your Zeal in this Service, becauſe they apprehend it ſo great a Means of retrieving the *Reſpect* due to the *Sacred Order*, and ſilencing the Reproaches which ill Men are ready to throw upon it. They can't ſee how Clergymen can be unconcern'd, without betraying their Truſt, or ſo much as cool, without Scandal; becauſe nothing is ſo oppoſite to the Intereſts of their Maſter as Vice and Prophaneſs; and ſeem to have a Right to conclude, That *he who is not with them*, in this Matter, *is againſt them*, and can hardly be eſteem'd a *Friend* of Chriſt's Religion.

You cannot but be ſenſible, Gentlemen, there is no Way ſo effectual to *magnify your Office*, as a vigorous Purſuit of the proper Ends of it; and nothing certainly can have an odder Aſpect, than for thoſe whoſe very Office is to be Reformers of Men, to diſcountenance any regular Endea-

yours

vours to promote the ſame End. If People ſee a Clergyman all a Fire in Defence of an abſtruſe Speculation, in behalf of the Power of the Church, or a meer Ceremony, which has not any intrinſic Goodneſs in it, but cold and indifferent in the Support of Vertue and indiſputable Goodneſs; how is it poſſible to eſcape the Reproaches of the People? The leaſt which can be ſaid, is, "That "ſuch a Man acts quite out of Character:" And there is no Way to prevent others from going farther, and ſaying, That he's more in earneſt for ſecuring a ſervile Dependance upon the Prieſthood, than for the Honour of his Maſter, or the Good of Mankind in both Worlds.

You often attack Vice with great Eloquence and Strength in your publick Diſcourſes; but I doubt theſe will rather be turn'd upon you, than be ſerviceable to the Intereſts of Vertue, if you ſhould be obſerv'd to diſcountenance the Magiſtrate in his Endeavours to reſtrain the Exorbitance of Vice; or fail to excite him to his Duty in that which is undoubtedly his Province by Conſent of All, as the Patron of the Publick Good: Eſpecially if you ſhould diſcover a Readineſs at the ſame Time to call in his Aſſiſtance in Matters of leſs Conſequence, and where your ſelves have a more immediate Intereſt, and in Caſes wherein at leaſt it is not ſo clear that the Magiſtrate has an Authority.

As you are for the moſt Part liberally ſupported by the Publick, and have a large Share in the Revenues of the Community; 'tis ſuppos'd that you are a very beneficial Part of it, and capable by your Influence of a great deal of Service to it: And without Queſtion you are ſo, by the Rank you hold, the Character you bear, the Opportunities you have of being heard and regarded

garded by all Sorts of People, and the Learning and Good Senſe you are Maſters of. But allow me to ſay, That People will not fail to make invidious Reflections, ſhould Clergymen appear ſo unconcern'd, I ſay not now for the Honour of their Maſter, but the Good of the Community, to which they are under ſo many Engagements, as not to countenance and forward all the Ways they can, the Societies for Reformation.

On the other Hand, Your Zeal for Reformation would ſecure Reſpect both from Good and Ill Men. Next to Integrity of Mind, nothing is more highly eſteem'd among the truly Good, than Zeal for unqueſtionable Goodneſs; to be Leaders and Guides of others in Paths of Difficulty; and encourage and animate every vertuous Attempt: And 'tis the ſtrongeſt Appeal to the Conſcience of ill Men, and always fixes a ſecret Reverence, even where it don't extort an open Acknowledgment. This would raiſe the Credit of the Clergy to a greater Height, and make all their Honours thought reaſonable and deſerv'd: They would be eſteem'd the great Patrons, as well as Examples of Vertue, and the Bleſſing and Delight of the Chriſtian World.

I only ask a Moment's Patience of this *Venerable Body* for a ſingle Suggeſtion farther: The *Succeſs* of Preaching depends ſo much upon the *Temper* of the Hearers, that nothing is more remarkable than the different Effects of it, according to the different Diſpoſition of the Subject. The ſame *Good Seed* in the Parable, miſcarry'd upon the *Stony Ground*, and among *Thorns*, and by the *Way Side*, which took Root, and became fruitful upon the *Good Ground*; a kindly and proper Soil; which is explain'd by an *honeſt and good Heart*. The Vertuous and Well-diſpoſed among the *Jews*, who liv'd up to the Diſpenſation they were under, and maintain'd the Expectation of the *Meſſiah*, were mightily diſpos'd to receive the Chriſtian Doctrine: And we find the Pride and Prejudice, the Covetouſneſs and Oppreſſion of the Scribes and Phariſees, lead them to reject the Doctrine of the Goſpel, preach'd

preach'd by Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles. And among the *Gentiles*, *as many as were ordain'd to eternal Life*, *believ'd*, i. e. prepar'd and ſet in order for it: They who were ſober-minded, and ſincerely deſirous to know the Truth, readily entertain'd and embrac'd it.

Immorality and Wickedneſs of Life will always indiſpoſe and prejudice the Mind againſt the beſt Endeavours for their Good. Open and profligate Sinners ſeldom attend the Publick Worſhip, and live in the ordinary Neglect of all the Offices of Religion: They are eaſily detained and diverted from paying any Regard to the *wiſe* and *rational* Diſcourſes for their Conviction; the warm and ſerious *Exhortations* to Holineſs, which are beſt fitted to impreſs their Minds and diſpoſe them to Vertue. The accurate Pains and earneſt Concern of the pious Clergy is totally loſt to ſuch Men who are not only out of the Reach, but out of the Hearing of it too. And it may well ſtrike any ſerious Mind with a frightful Horror, That the proper Seaſon of Divine Worſhip is, to many purpoſes of Wickedneſs, thought *the more convenient Seaſon*; and the Leiſure and Retirement of others for the Service of God, to favour and countenance their own Violence and Exceſſes: And how many at the *Gallows* date their Ruine from Neglects and Prophanation of the Lord's-Day.

Or if they are led by Cuſtom or Faſhion, or any Circumſtance of Convenience to the Publick Worſhip, their Vices and Wickedneſs *indiſpoſe* them to due Attendance, or to receive the proper Advantage; they are uneaſy under the Means of their own Conviction, and what has the greateſt Tendency to awaken and reclaim them, raiſes the greateſt Oppoſition and Diſlike: *Every one who doth evil, hateth the Light; neither cometh to the Light, leſt his Deeds ſhould be reproved.* This leads Men to ſo much Irreverence and Neglect, to ſuch ſcandalous Indifference, and even Wantonneſs of Behaviour in the Houſe of God, to the great Reproach of religious Aſſemblies, and Grief of pious Minds. This fills them with Vanity and Prejudice in the moſt ſolemn Service, fortifies them againſt any

Impreſſion

Impreſſion of Goodneſs, and diſpoſes them to the meaneſt Cavils, and to ſport with the ſmalleſt Miſtakes. So the excellent Labours of the Miniſters of Religion are as effectually defeated, with reſpect to many who are preſent, as to thoſe who are abſent, and perhaps they are the leſs criminal of the two.

But now effectual Reſtraints upon open Wickedneſs, reducing Men to common Sobriety, making Vice odious and unfaſhionable, diſcountenancing and puniſhing it when it grows incorrigible, would be found an happy Expedient to prepare Men for Attendance to religious Offices, and receive the ſpiritual Benefit of them. Then we might hope to ſee our Churches and Altars more frequented; a viſible Face of Reverence and Devotion in all the Parts of Divine Service; and a greater Effect of Good in the Lives of Men: That the Golden Age ſhould be reſtored to the Chriſtian World, and that bleſſed State, the *new Heavens and new Earth wherein dwelleth Righteouſneſs*, commence: That Purity and Love ſhould prevail and triumph over Vice and Uncharitableneſs; and our *Jeruſalem* become the *Praiſe* and the *Pattern* of all the pious Earth, and a lively Emblem of the *New Jeruſalem* which is *Above*.

Upon the Whole; I can't imagine it is more properly the Buſineſs of the Chriſtian *Magiſtrate*, than 'its of the *Clergy*, to promote Reformation of Manners, tho' the Reaſon of their Concern is different; and they have a mutual Subſervienee to one another, the Magiſtrate, by puniſhing open Wickedneſs, prepares Men to receive the Benefit of their Inſtructions; and the Inſtructions of the Clergy render their Authority the more regarded, and their Corrections the more effectual. I leave this *Excuſe* for the boldeſt Venture I ever made, with this ſolemn *Proteſt*, That it may meet with no Acceptance, if 'tis not ſincerely directed to ſerve the greateſt Good.

F I N I S.

THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. XI.

LETTERS

TO THE

AUTHOR.

CONTAINING

Some REMARKS on the following Pamphlets, *viz.*

I. The Church of *England* Man's Memorial: Or the Hiſtory of Comprehenſion and Toleration.

II. Dr. *Cannon*'s Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation.

III. Dr. *Dawſon*'s *Suſpiria Sacra.*

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(Price Six-pence)



LETTERS
TO THE
AUTHOR.

I Have endeavoured to gratify the Gentlemen who have honoured me with their Letters, by devoting a Paper now and then intirely to their Service, and have had the Pleaſure to underſtand that I gratifyed my Readers at the ſame time. I have taken the Liberty, with which I hope none of my Correſpondents are diſpleas'd, and which ſeveral of them have expreſsly given me, to chuſe among their Papers ſuch as I thought might beſt ſerve the Publick, and to ſend them abroad in that which appear'd to me the moſt convenient Juncture. For this reaſon Thoſe who might expect to find their own kind and

valuable Contributions to the Deſign inſerted here, will not reckon themſelves neglected becauſe they are poſtpon'd, to make room for thoſe of a freſher Date in the following Collection; ſince theſe are upon Subjects, that engage the preſent Attention of moſt People who are converſant with Letters, or Lovers of their Country.

I. *To the Author of the* Occaſional Paper.

SIR, Jan. 10. 1717-18.

THere is a Pamphlet lately come out, call'd, *The Church of* England *Man's* Memorial; Or the *Hiſtory of Comprehenſion and Toleration*; which it is wiſh'd you would take ſome Notice of. Not that I am apprehenſive of its needing ſuch a Pen as yours to anſwer it, but that it requires ſuch an Opportunity as you have of Expoſing it more Effectually to the World, than an unexperienced and private Writer could pretend to do. The Man ſeems to be in a mighty *Paſſion*; He is perfectly raving at the Thought of the *Sectaries* being admitted to Serve the *State*; and in ſuch a dreadful Fright for the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, that He has nothing before his Eyes but *Deſtruction, inevitable Deſtruction*, if any Diſſenter ſhould ever be allow'd to bear a *Civil Office*. This *flaming furious Piece* was occaſion'd, by what one would expect ſhould have had a more *gracious Effect*; even by His Majeſty's late

late *moſt Gracious Speech*, as he tells us in his *Title*. He ſeems outragious, that *Grace* ſhould be Extended to *Any* but *Rebels*, and *Nonjurors*: And in this *Fit* the Man has Confidence enough to propoſe his *Rants* to the Conſideration of *Both Houſes of Parliament*. And truſting that He has to do with People who know as little of *Hiſtory* as Himſelf, He holds up to their Noſes in his Title Page Quotation, a Paſſage of *Heylin*'s, that almoſt *every other Hiſtory* contradicts, and that has been confuted from the moſt Authentic Accounts, and by the beſt Writers over and over.

The Quotation runs thus, *Let us remember that thoſe who now cry out ſo loudly for Birth-right, and Liberty of Conſcience, are the Spawn of that Old Crew, who caus'd theſe Nations to ſwim in Blood.* ——Pray let this *Memorialiſt* know from One that is acquainted with as many *Diſſenters* as He ſeems to be with *Nonjurors*, that the *warmeſt* of the *Diſſenters* amongſt my Acquaintance, are ſuch as are come off from the *Church* of *England*; and who have been the more effectually riveted in their Diſſention by ſuch wretched Writings as his: Whilſt many of thoſe, who have lately acted at the Head of this *Hiſtorian's Faction*, are the *Spawn*, and Deſcendants of that *Old Crew*, *Heylin* ſpeaks of. As for *Cauſing theſe Nations to ſwim in Blood*, I wiſh you would inform this doughty *Hiſtorian*, from one of the beſt Hiſtories extant in the *Engliſh Language*, (I mean *Ruſhworth's Collections*;) That the firſt Foundation and Spring of our after *Miſeries*, and *Blood-ſhed*, was the *King's marrying* a Daughter of *France*, and Signing *private Articles* in favour of the

Ca-

Catholicks *; and all along proceeding more upon their Counſels, and for their Intereſt, than was Conſiſtent with the Safety of a Proteſtant Nation †. Tell him it was owing to the wicked Managements of ſuch *Favourites* as *Buckingham*, and his Adherents: and to the Preaching of ſuch *Prieſts* as *Manwaring* and *Sibthorp*. Tell him it was owing to a *Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion Court*; and in my Lord *Clarendon*'s own Words, to *unjuſt Projects of all kinds, that were ſet on Foot.* Pray put this Man in mind of the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, when he would point at thoſe who made theſe Nations *ſwim in Blood:* And once more repeat to him, what has ſo often been mention'd, the Words of the *Parliaments Declarations*, when there were not above four of the *Sectaries* in the Houſe: 'That from the beginning of his 'Majeſty's Reign there had been a malignant 'and pernicious Deſign of Subverting the 'Fundamental Laws and Principles of Govern-'ment, upon which the Religion and Juſtice 'of the Kingdom was Eſtabliſh'd.

As to Sequeſtring *all loyal Gentlemen and Orthodox Divines of their Eſtates*, and *taking away many of their Lives*; Pray, if your Paper will allow a Place for it, inſert my Lord *Digby*'s Speech out of *Ruſhworth's Collections.* Part III. p. 172. With ſome of the moſt material Paſſages in the Proceedings againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* and others, and let all the Tyranny, and the Provocations that led on to ſuch Severities be plac'd in their proper Light.

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* Ruſhworth's *Collections.* Vol. I. p. 169.

† p. 173. 174, p. 181, 182, *&c.*

And

And then to the laſt Part of the Quotation, *tearing aſunder every Limb of our Antient Conſtitution, and murdering the King himſelf*: Deſire him to obſerve how one Limb was torn off after another from the Conſtitution, by Popiſh, and High Church Managements, for above twelve Years before Things came to that Extremity he ſpeaks of. If the Conſtitution had not firſt been torn to Pieces by the *Tories* of thoſe times, the *Sectaries* could never have got into Power as they afterwards did. Tho' in reality, to do the *Chief* of the *Sectaries* Juſtice, (if one may ſet the Authority of a Biſhop and a renowned Hiſtorian againſt the Quotation of this trifling angry Story-teller) 'The "*Church* of *England* hath ever witneſſed her "Deteſtation of theſe Practices and Principles, "(depoſing or murdering Kings) and ſhared "deeply in the Sufferings of their King *.— "and many of the moſt *conſiderable Diſſenters* "did even then, when it was not ſo ſafe to do "it as it is now, openly declare againſt it "both in their Sermons, and Writings." And that the Charge may lye where it truly deſerves to lye, pray deſire this *Church of Englandman's Remembrancer* to read what is ſaid by the ſame *Author*, concerning this being a *Popiſh Principle and Practice*. Deſire him alſo to conſult what is juſt now publiſh'd, by a Member of the laſt Convocation, [Dr. *Snape Inſtructed*] where he will find the *Jeſuits* and their *Tools* the chief Promoters of that *Tragedy*. †

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* *Biſhop* Burnet's Sermon, *Jan.* 30. 1680.

† P. 74, 75.

Let

Let but the *Title Page* of This Pretending Author be thus expos'd; and I believe you will think it unneceſſary to trouble your ſelf with the *Book*. All the railing Accuſations he brings againſt the *Sectaries*, however they might belong to 'em in former Days, yet are now only ſo many *Satyrs* upon the High Church Faction: Who have made themſelves, beyond all that ever went before them, Remarkable, for loading our beſt Patriots and Church Men too, *with ſuch bitter Invectives, and abominable Lyes, as none but the grand Calumniator could furniſh them withal. Whilſt Rebels, and Regicides, Schiſmaticks and Enthuſiaſts are their only Saints* *. The Common-Place of Railing and Scandal, by changing a few Words, will *fit* one as well as another; and, to an ill-natur'd Man, is the eaſieſt way of Writing in the World. But ſuch is the Folly of thoſe Fellows that have us'd themſelves to it, they are not able to forbear throwing their *Dirt*, tho' the *Wind* be turn'd againſt them, and *drive* it all back upon Themſelves, inſtead of *Beſpattering* Others. 'Tis really pleaſant to obſerve how ſome of theſe ſtupid Writers are libelling Themſelves and their own Friends, whilſt they are blackning the Rebels about fourſcore Years ago. For of whom can ſuch Things as thoſe more truly be ſaid than of the preſent diſaffected Party; that *They are ſilent and crafty when overpower'd,* † *but loud and cruel when they prevail: Lambs when they liſt, and Lions when they can?*

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* *The Church of* England *Man's Memorial*, p. 11.
† P. 17.

Thus

Thus might one half of that Pamphlet be retorted with the greateſt Juſtice in the World: And conſidering how *generally* People are acquainted with our preſent Rebels, and how *few* trouble Themſelves with what was done an Age ago; I cannot but think this way of Writing will do more Injury to our *Author's Faction* than to the *Sectaries*; Such Mens *own Iniquity*, thus *Correcting them.*

The Contempt thrown by this *Inſtructor of the Parliament*, upon the firſt *Reformers*; his crying up Archbiſhop *Laud* as an *incomparable Prelate and Martyr*; while he reflects upon *Others*, whom he calls *Lecturing Divines* and *popular Prelates*; † and particularly, upon the preſent *Lord Biſhop of Ely*,* for recommending the *Foreign Divines* to his *Clergy*; and then his cloſing all, with ſuch Teſtimonials for the *Church* of *England*, as would make her a Church by herſelf; theſe Things, I ſay, plainly ſhew what *Spirit* and *Party* the Man is of. He is of a Party that ſets up for Government; and who will never allow any other Deſcription of the *Church* of *England* but their own; nor believe that any thing but *inevitable Deſtruction* can be the Conſequence of having their Meaſures croſs'd. I doubt not but if this *Hiſtorian*, who alſo ſets up for a *Prophet*, live a few Years, he will ſee his Predictions as much out of the way of Truth, as his Hiſtory now is. And if his Heart be not broke before, a little time will ſhew him that there are greater *Heads* than his, and better *Governours* than ſuch as He, now in the Nation.

† *P.* 36. * *P.* 30.

Sir, If you ſhould ſee fit to take publick Notice of this Letter, grant me only the Favour of inſerting one Quotation, out of a Pamphlet I have mention'd before, and I think it will prove a full Antidote againſt the Poiſon of ſuch Papers, as that which occaſion'd this Letter. * 'The *Jeſuits* do all this [*get to themſelves the Inſtruction of Youth; cry up the Authority of the Church above the Private Judgment of Men; ſuggeſt and then fix the Imputation of Hereſy; write the moſt bitter Invectives and Satyrs againſt All they judge, or ſuſpect to be their Adverſaries*; with many other Things of the like Nature;] 'not as a Religious *Society*, but as a Pragma-'tical and Potent *Faction* in the Church of 'Rome. And if any Body of Men, of any 'better Religion, had the ſame enterpriſing 'Spirit, and the ſame indefatigable Induſtry, 'and the ſame Chain of Intereſt and Adhe-'rence to one another; they would be above 'the Heads of all their Fellow-*Subjects*; they 'would contend with *Princes*; they would 'make *Prelates* comply; and be, Themſelves 'the *Church*, or predominant Party in it. For 'tho' by the happy Conſtitution of our Re-'formed Church, there is leſs Liberty and leſs 'Advantage for any Set of Clergy to affect 'Dominion over others, and no Support of 'Principles to maintain it; yet it may be na-'tural for Men of Ambition to puſh and thruſt 'forward in every Place, to form Themſelves 'into a ſtrenuous Body, to boaſt of their Num-'bers and the Force of them: To propagate

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* *Dr.* Snape *Inſtructed*, p. 79.

'ſtrange

'ſtrange Notions by the Dint of their own 'Authority; to impoſe them upon the People 'under the *Sanction* of the *Church*, or in the '*Name* of it: To magnify the Sovereign Pow'ers, when in Grace and good Humour with 'them; to oppoſe and reſiſt them, when not 'gratify'd by them: To Work moſt upon the 'weaker Princes; and to Court the People 'when *They* are eaſier to be deceiv'd: To lay 'dark Schemes at a diſtance, to let 'em run 'under Ground, and riſe again, and ſink a'gain as they pleaſe: To be one and all in 'puſhing on a main Deſign, and making eve'ry Step ſubſervient to it: To weaken the 'Obligations of *Oaths*, when they are pinch'd 'with the Tye of them; and to make them 'very tremendous, when they are given on 'their Side: To preach up Sedition when 'they are *out* of Favour, and abſolute Obedi'ence when they are *in*: To drop their *old* 'Principles if they no longer ſerve their turn; 'and yet to acknowledge no Change in 'Themſelves: To run down every Body that 'ſtands in their way, however Good or Great, 'and to applaud every ſorry Creature that will 'become their Tool; and to keep up a Ma'jority, at leaſt among the Women and Boys. 'Theſe Men, to whatever Proteſtant Church 'or Country they belong, are, according to 'their more impotent Condition, the very *Je'ſuits* of the Reformation.' I am,

Sir, &c.

II. *To the Author of the* Occaſional Paper.

SIR,

YOur Writing in the Cauſe of Truth and Liberty without Regard to Party, has given me the Courage to ſend you a few *Remarks* upon Dr. *Cannon's Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower-Houſe of Convocation.* If you think them Reaſonable, and at all Proper to either of thoſe Purpoſes, I readily ſubmit them to your Correction and Pleaſure. I'm ſure I can ſay, as I have not the Honour of any Perſonal Acquaintance with the Reverend Doctor; ſo I have no Reaſon for any Perſonal Diſreſpect, and deſign him no manner of Prejudice: I only uſe the ſame Liberty with his Book, which he does with Religion, *i. e.* to offer him ſome Thoughts upon it.

The Doctor begins with repreſenting the *Obligations* the Clergy were under by the *Canons* and *Statutes* to regard the Supremacy.* And no Man can blame the Clergy's Zeal for the Royal Supremacy, eſpecially in this Reign, if there were not Reaſon to think, their Zeal in this Matter was greater than their Diſcretion; in condemning a Sermon preach'd before the Supreme *Ordinary*, and Legal *Head* of the Church, and Publiſh'd by his Command and Approbation; for this is to make him a Civil *Felo de ſe*, and to conſpire with the Biſhop of *Bangor* againſt his own Supremacy. It

* *P.* 4, 5.

would

would have been a great deal more honourable if the Convocation had cenſured Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermon before King *Charles* I. which magnified the Royal Supremacy beyond the Legal Bounds, and to the Prejudice of all the Subjects Rights; which yet was licenſed by the Biſhops, and met with Applauſe and Preferment from the favoured and prevailing Party.

I think tis not to the Honour of a Proteſtant Church, or conſiſtent with the Articles of Religion, to ſuppoſe any Canons to claim an abſolute Authority over the Conſciences of Men, in what relates to the Favour and Acceptance of God, and Eternal Salvation; which were only deſigned to order the outward Form of Religious Worſhip, and the regular Adminiſtration of Chriſt's Appointments.

If none expreſs'd their *Doubts* of the evil Tendency of the Biſhop's Sermon, or ſpoke a Word in its *Vindication* in Convocation: * I ſuppoſe it was not thought a proper Seaſon when the Motion was firſt made. It would have been time enough when it had come again before the Houſe, in order to be debated by Paragraphs. Tis unfairly inſinuated that every Member of the Houſe, or of the Committee, had but one Mind in the Matter; or to conclude from thence a general Concurrence and Conſent. And tho' Truth would not have been determined by the Pole or a bare Majority of Votes, I can tell him as Wiſe and Learned as any who ſit within thoſe Walls, would have voted and ſpoke too on the Biſhop's Side.

* P. 7.

I'm

I'm afraid the Doctor may ſee ſo much ſaid without Doors, as will find Work for the whole Committee, and for their whole Lives, to give a ſubſtantial Anſwer to.

I can aſſure him the *Temper* of the Houſe has been repreſented † not much to its Advantage, by ſome who are *Members* of that Houſe, as well as by thoſe who are not; and if we may judge of it by the Temper of thoſe who have writ in this Cauſe, the Doctor has no Reaſon to boaſt. We without Doors cannot but think it had been but a *decent* Return in Doctor *Cannon* to the Biſhop for the Civility of the Sermon ſent him, privately to have hinted the Offence taken at it, before the had either propoſed or joined in a Publick Cenſure. I hope for the ſake of the Church, all the *Decency* they glory in, is not of a Piece with this.

I agree with the Doctor, Their receding from the *Principal Branch* of their firſt Charge, was a greater Inſtance of their Impartiality, than of the Honeſty or Penetration of thoſe who drew it up: *i. e.* That the Tendency of the Biſhop's Doctrine was to *ſet at nought, and make void the Inſtitutions and Ordinances of Chriſt*; the thing in all the World, the moſt diametrically oppoſite to the Deſign and Expreſſion of the whole Sermon.

I can tell the Doctor of National Churches in the World very well ſupported,* where ſuch Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate as the Biſhop oppoſes, is not pretended to or allowed. Nor can I believe 'tis in the Power

† *P.* 9. * *P.* 10, 11.

of

of all the Sanctions of this World to *ſupport Religion in the Eſſentials of it:* i. e. to make Men ſincere in the Profeſſion and Practice of true Religion: Unleſs he thinks Sincerity not Eſſential. And if there is ſuch a Power as he contends for *inſeparable from every Imperial Crown*; I ask, Whether this will not neceſſarily ſpread and maintain Superſtition: and effectually keep out Chriſtianity where it has not yet obtain'd, the moſt Sovereign Remedy againſt all Superſtition!

How carefully ſoever the Doctor flatters himſelf to have watched againſt what might *diſturb his Judgment*, † it ſeems too plain, the Pique againſt the Biſhop he acknowledges to have had ſome time before the Sermon was Preached, has not a little influenced him in his Conduct in this Affair, both in and out of Convocation. Had he ſeen no other Books publiſhed of late, which had as plainly, to ſay the leaſt, aſſerted, ‡ *The Clergy have a Right to exerciſe Juriſdiction, otherwiſe than by, under, and from the Legal Authority?* Dr. *Hickes*'s numerous Tracts, and every thing publiſh'd by the *Nonjurors*, do almoſt in expreſs Words, *weaken, make vile, and ſet at nought the Supremacy*, and not only by remote Conſequence, as the Biſhop's Sermon is charged with doing. While all thoſe are paſs'd by, and the Biſhop only mark'd out for Cenſure, the Doctor muſt excuſe me if I think ſomething elſe weighed more with him, than his Regards to the Supremancy: tho' I care not if I allow, that he

† *P.* 16. 17. ‡ 42.

expreſſes

expreſſes more Concern for this ſaid Supremacy, than for any one the moſt Important Truths of the Goſpel. I have known before now the diſplacing a Prime Miniſter, diſappoint the Hopes of Ambitious Men, and give as odd a Turn of Mind, and as ſtrange a Diſguſt as this.

'Tis a ſurprizing Complaint of the Biſhop, that he *never thought the Arguments of his Adverſary good and convincing:* Why then 'tis a Sign he believes himſelf, and is a fair and honeſt Adverſary. Would he have him write againſt People, whoſe Arguments he thought *good and convincing?* That were only to Cavil and Wrangle; to fight Prizes in Controverſy; and to write not for Truth, but Contention Sake. And tis pretty particular here, that the Biſhop has commonly been ſo happy as to make other People think ſo too of his Arguments, as well as himſelf. I can tell him of ſome Writers of Controverſy in this Age, and in the Courſe of this Debate, who have only raiſed a Duſt before their Readers Eyes, and ſhewed a wonderful Art in puzzling and perplexing a Cauſe, without clearing up any Truth, or perhaps believing one Word themſelves. Nothing can be ſtranger than this, except what he further advances here, That the Biſhops pleading for the ſole Authority of Chriſt in Matters of Religion, and the Purity and Simplicity of the Chriſtian Doctrine, as it lies in the New Teſtament, ſhould *give Advantage to the Cauſe of Superſtition*, and the Doctor's Oppoſition *weaken* it: Unleſs he would ſpeak out, and declare, that having a *cloſe and immediate Regard to Jeſus Chriſt*, is Superſtition.

'Tis

'Tis worthy Obſervation, that tho' the Biſhop has been thought by all Impartial, and ſome Intereſted Perſons, to be particularly happy in his *manner of Writing Controverſy*; yet the Doctor* cannot forbear diſliking and cenſuring it. I have read many a Controverſy in my time, from a great variety of different Hands; and have had the Curioſity to run thro' the whole Courſe of the Biſhop's Controverſial Writings, from his firſt Appearance in the World: and if an Unconcerned and Indifferent *Stander-by*, may be allowed to give his Opinion, the Biſhop has the moſt improved by Writing Controverſy of any Man I have ſeen, both in the Clearneſs and Temper of his Writings; which is pretty Singular, when Men ſo commonly looſe their Temper at leaſt, who have once drawn Blood in Controverſy. He has acted a Part throughout this long Debate, under the groſſeſt Pervertion and Miſtake of his Sence, the greateſt Perſonal Abuſes, the moſt Unchriſtian and Unfair Treatment; with ſuch a Clearneſs and Compaſs of Thought, ſuch Compoſure of Mind, and Decency of Expreſſion, and ſuch Degrees of ſuperior Evidence to all his Anſwerers; as is not equalled in any Controverſy I have ſeen, ſince the great *Original* and Pattern of Controverſal Writing, ſo ſeldom imitated, Archbiſhop *Tillotſon's Rule of Faith*. And this I will maintain, notwithſtanding the Suggeſtions of *Vulgar Prepoſſeſſions*. I am ſure the Obſcurity and Diverſity of Sentiment; the Artifice and Craft; the

* *P.* 18.

Rudeneſs and Spite; the Levity and Trifling; the Sophiſtry, the Stupidity, among his Adverſaries; can only ſerve as a Foil to the ſtrict Truth, the open Fairneſs, the Skill, and the Civility of his Returns: and I dare venture to ſay, give him a Superiour Eſteem in the Minds of all the Impartial and diſcerning World, of whatſoever Character or Rank.

I never knew a Chriſtian Divine ſpeak with ſo little Regard as Dr. *Cannon* does of the peculiar Revelations of Chriſtianity †: 'Tis one thing to ſay, a ſincere Heathen may be accepted; and another, that a Man may be *as Religious as any Reaſonable Creature is capable of being without the Belief of a Future State.* I can hardly ſee how an avowed *Deiſt* could more ſtrongly expreſs his Sentiments than in the Doctor's Words. Nor can I otherwiſe account for another Expreſſion of his a little lower; Where the Words of our Saviour himſelf which the Biſhop glories in as his greateſt *Shelter and Defence*, this Chriſtian Doctor repreſents as a *meer Shadow*, ‡ without ſo much as attempting to ſhew his Lordſhip that he had miſapplied them.

And how can there be any true Religion without the Belief of *another World*, and conſidering God both as *Governour and Judge*; when that Suppoſition is ſo neceſſary to ſettle right and worthy Notions of God in our Minds, who is the great Object of our Worſhip and Service, and Truſt and Hope? Take away this Suppoſition, and confine your whole

† *P.* 19, 20. ‡ *P.* 34.

View

View within the Compaſs of this World; and the preſent Diſpenſations of Providence would give a very odd Repreſentation of the Divine Being, and he would not appear to be either *Wiſe*, or *Juſt*, or *Good*. And what Religion muſt that be, which can have no better an Object than this? or what Reaſon and Encouragement to be Religious at all? The beſt Men in the World have been ſhocked with ſuch a Thought, and ready to think in this View of the Caſe, that God *had made all Men in vain*. The Heathen World preſerved the Religion they had among them very much under the Power of this Apprehenſion, tho' weak and uncertain. Our Lord every where makes the Promiſes and Hopes of future Recompences, the great Topick of Perſwaſion in all the Duties and Afflictions of Life. The Apoſtle plainly goes upon this Suppoſition; *If in this Life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all Men the moſt miſerable*: Which I think muſt hold in Proportion to the Difficulties and Sufferings of the Chriſtian State, tho' not in equal Degrees in which it did to the Apoſtles. He makes it the peculiar Glory and Advantage of the Chriſtian Revelation, that God will raiſe the Dead, *and judge the World by Jeſus Chriſt*; *and Life and Immortality are brought to Light by the Goſpel*. And expreſly tells us, *That he who cometh to God*, i. e. in a Way of Worſhip and Service, or is truly Religious; *muſt believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them who diligently ſeek him*; and *Moſes* and *Chriſt* acted upon this Principle, of *Reſpect to the Recompence of Reward*, and to a *future Joy*.

I entreat the Reverend Doctor to receive Correction here from the Excellent Pen of the preſent Biſhop of *Rocheſter**. *How muſt it afflict a good Man to conſider that our unhappy Diſputes about Rites and Privileges ſhould ſpread themſelves into Points of a Foreign Nature, and of the moſt ſacred Importance: to purſue them to the Horns of the Altar without any Regard to the Intereſts of our Common Chriſtianity. What, can't we differ about Adjournments, without differing alſo about the Evidences of a future State?——Is their Conduct leſs liable to Reproach, who are not aſhamed to eſpouſe even the Cauſe of Infidelity it ſelf, rather than miſs an Opportunity of expreſſing their Reſentment againſt Men they do not like, and of keeping up their little Party Intereſts and Quarrels?*

There is no doubt of the great Advantage of good Education †: We muſt be guided by Others till we are able to act for our Selves; and 'tis a great Happineſs to fall into good Hands at firſt: But are we to be always Children, and under the meer Impreſſions of Education? Muſt we be vertuous and good by Others Inſtructions and outward Reſtraints, and not by our own Conſent when we come to be capable of it? The Doctor owns the Principles of Education lead more Wrong than Right, and brings them up in Superſtition and falſe Religion. And tho' the *Natural Obligations* we are under to God, are not Matter of *Choice*, but founded in natural Right, and

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* *Preface to his Volume of Sermons towards the End.*
† *P.* 20, 21.

Antecedent,

Antecedent, and Independent on any Act of ours; yet our owning that Right, and Regard to those Obligations, is Matter of *Choice*, and no Man can be Conscientious in discharging them, but upon proper Convictions, and with free Consent.

'Tis a Question with some, how far *National Governments*, as such, are obliged to set up the *Publick Worship* of God, and appoint *Places and Persons* to serve that Purpose*. I dare be positive many of the Convocation, and the Committee it self will differ from him here. Tho' perhaps on different Reasons. Christianity flourished and prevailed most, without the Countenance and under the Terrors of the National Establishment; and this leaves it to the Discretion of the Government, what the Worship, and who the Persons ministring shall be. 'Tis not so easy to conceive of Church Establishments, without such Partialities as 'tis the proper Care of wise Governments to guard against, by the Doctor's own Confession †. And yet as he represents the Matter, 'tis not much short of an *Inquisition*. I would ask the Doctor what the Christians in the Apostles Days, and in the Ages next after them, would have thought of excommunicating and inflicting Spiritual Censures on unbaptised Infidels ‡? Not has there been any Relaxation of Discipline but upon Political Reasons: There is no Irreligion it seems in the bloodiest Persecutions, tho' there may be ill Policy in it. But what Right soever they have to set up the Publick Worship,

* *P.* 23. † *P.* 37. ‡ *P.* 41.

'tis

'tis time enough to put Negative and Poſitive Diſcouragements*, when the *Order of God's Worſhip* is ſo perfect as to be without the *leaſt Blemiſh or Fault*, and made an *unexceptionable Worſhip* as he pretends; and which I ſuppoſe is not like to be in haſte: Tho' even in that Caſe the Authority of Chriſt and the Sanctions of his Laws, muſt be the Ground and Motive, and not the Authority of the Magiſtrate, to render it true Piety or an acceptable Service to God. Nor is it in the Office or the Power of the Magiſtrate to make Men truly Pious, but to encourage a Reformation of Manners, and puniſh open Vice; at moſt to maintain the outward Order of God's Worſhip. And for the Uſe of Worldly Motives, tho' the Legiſlators Principal Ground and Reaſon were a Regard to God, which yet I doubt is very ſeldom the Caſe; yet that would not warrant the Uſe of them to that Purpoſe, if he has no Right to do ſo: He has other Things to imploy his Care about, and Religion other Motives, more ſuitable to its Nature, and more likely to be effectual: Nor would this prove the Man, who by theſe Motives is brought to expreſs a Regard to God and Religion, to be truly Religious; becauſe as far as the Man is concerned, *God is left out of the Suppoſition.*

The *Terror of the Lord* may influence a good Chriſtian Magiſtrate to be Religious himſelf, and be the Reaſon of a willing Choice†; but he cannot therefore *apply the Terrors of this World*

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* *P.* 23. † *P.* 26.

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to the Minds of Men, where the Other is applied by Chriſt; unleſs he could make them receive proper Convictions, and be anſwerably influenced by them. And will he ſuppoſe a Religion not freely Choſen, poſſible to be Sincere, or true Religion in God's Account? The Magiſtrates thought Themſelves oblig'd to promote the Superſtition and Idolatry of a falſe Religion *, long before our Saviour appeared in the World: Are they therefore *confirm'd in that Right?* Is it *left in full Vigour and Strength?* I would fain know, what is that *Purity of Mind* which the Magiſtrate is oblig'd to encourage; and how there can be any *plain* Breaches of that Purity which is properly ſpeaking, a Secret and hidden Thing; and how he can lay on Diſcouragements, and Penalties, without Evidence and Proof? 'Tis unfair and abſurd to argue from the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution to merely Humane Eſtabliſhments; or make that the Pattern and Obligation to every other Government. For I would ask the Doctor, whether thoſe Laws among the *Jews*, which *inflicted ſevere worldly Puniſhments upon Offenders againſt God*, were not by God's own expreſs Appointment, and not the Magiſtrate's Authority or Pleaſure? And whether he might not as well argue from the *Jewiſh* Sacrifices as the *Jewiſh* Penalties?

In the long Paraphraſe on *Acts* 17. † I can ſee nothing to the Doctor's Purpoſe, or which affects the Biſhop, but upon this modeſt Suppoſition, that the Biſhop approves the *A-*

* *P.* 27. † *P.* 28.

thenian

thenian Idolatry, or is againſt the Worſhip of One true God, and the Judgment of the World at laſt by Jeſus Chriſt; in which Things, I believe he is one of the laſt Men that will be ſuſpected.

And now I heartily join with the * Doctor *in leaving the ſenſible* (eſpecially if he is a Chriſtian) *Reader to determine the difference between the Biſhop, and Him, in their Thoughts concerning Religion*, and upon the *Truth or Falſhood* of theſe oppoſite *Maxims*; on the one Hand, 'That 'the Belief of another World, is what alone 'renders our beſt Actions, Religion, as 'tis 'the Principle within us, from whence they 'flow; and from whence, when they do not 'flow, they ceaſe to be Religion:' On the other Hand, 'That a certain Perſwaſion con-'cerning a future State, is not neceſſary to a 'Man's being Religious; and that he who 'has a Right Sence of Duty to God, † 'and puts his whole Truſt and Confi-'dence in him, without laying claim to any 'Promiſe, or ſo much as having a certain 'Expectation, of a future Reward after Death, 'is as truly Religious as a Man is capable of 'being.

I can't tell whether the References to the Doctor's Book are ſufficiently explicite without caſting an Eye over it as you go along: But as the chief Excellency of the Book is, that 'tis very *Grave* and very *Short*, I thought it would be a double Impertinence to be

* *P.* 34. † *P.* 20.

Wit-

Witty and *Long* in remarking upon it, especially when I only designed a Letter, from

Your Respectful Humble Servant.

To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

SIR,

I Had a Design to recommend to your Animadversion, a Paper, under the Title of *Suspiria sacra*, but I was diverted from that Thought by two Reasons; the one was, that I had much rather you should entertain the World with Subjects of your own Choice. Go on, Sir, to vindicate Religion, Morality, Liberty, and Catholick Christianity, from the Disguises, under which selfish and worldly Men have thrown them. Men, who call themselves Ministers of Christ, and Members of the Protestant Church of *England*; and yet, if there be any thing in the present State of Religion that needs to be Sighed and Groaned over, no Men in the World have contributed more than some of them, to bring it into that Condition. The other Reason was, that I did believe it would be a very disagreeable Task to a Person of your Taste to Remark upon such Writing. Such a mixture of bullying and whining, could not but mind me of a certain Name-sake of the Doctor's, who swagger'd in it that he could *Kick half the World*; but sighed upon it, that *half the World kicked him.*

There has been a great deal of Sighing and Groaning among ſome Folks, ſince King GEORGE came to the Throne; ſince the Victories, at *Dunblain* and *Preſton*; ſince the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, has been demonſtrated *not* to be *of this World*; that is, ſince the Kingdom of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, have been preſerved to the Proteſtant Line, and the *Church* reſtored, to its only Sovereign and abſolute Lawgiver. And tho' I would not aſſert the *abovenamed*, are among the Doctor's Troubles, or meant by that Groan in the Title Page, *Deliver Iſrael, O God, out of all his Troubles*; yet I will aſſert, that the Doctor's *Suſpiria*, can no more be called *Sacra*, than *thoſe abovementioned*, unleſs it be in the Sence of the Poets,

Auri ſacra Fames——quid non

For a Man to *Sigh and Groan* over the only Principles upon which *Chriſtianity* could come into the World! the Reformation break its way from Popery, or be preſerved from ſinking back into it again! Over Principles, without which, all Religions are on a Level; that is, equally good for nothing! For a Man to Sigh and Groan over any Purpoſes of acting ſuitable to thoſe Principles, by *doing as we would be done by*; and reſtoring the Injured to their Native Rights; and reſtoring the Crown to the Freedom of employing its Proteſtant Friends, whom it thinks fit for its Service, without asking leave of the Parſon! To Sigh and Groan, when the Church was never more Safe, nor the State in more Credit; and every Proſpect moſt promiſing, but what ariſes from the Inſatiableneſs of

thoſe

thoſe Men, who under Colour of Religion are engroſſing this World to themſelves: This, I ſay, is an *Inſtance of that Impunity* (the Doctor complains of) *with which the Preſs diſcharges Torrents, to the infinite Reproach of the Chriſtian Faith, and the imminent hazard of the three Kingdoms.*

When I firſt caſt my Eyes upon the canting Title, *Suſpiria Sacra*, I gueſs'd without turning over two Pages, what they were; and ſaid to a Friend that ſtood by, that the *Engliſh* of *Suſpiria Sacra*, was thus: Oh that ever the Doctrine of Chriſt's being the ſole King in his Church, and Judge of his Subjects in all the Points relating to the Favour and Diſpleaſure of God, ſhould dare to appear among us! Oh that it ſhould be a Part of the Proteſtant Doctrine, that no Men upon Earth have a Right to make any of their own Declarations, or Deciſions, to affect the State of Chriſt's Subjects with regard to the Favour of God! Oh that ever Men, living and acting as becomes thoſe who wait for the Appearance of an All-knowing and Impartial Judge, ſhould dare to think that in ſuch Behaviour, they might be without the Fear of Mens Judgment! Oh *Tempora*, Oh *Mores!* What Hereſies! That Men's Title to the Favour of God ſhould depend upon real Sincerity in the Conduct of their Conſciences; rather than upon Humane Benedictions, Abſolutions, Denunciations, and Excommunications! Which will now be no longer thought to determine either God's Favour or Anger toward Chriſtians! Oh, this comes of Peoples being allowed to underſtand Scripture for themſelves, inſtead of depending upon the

Church! for want of which ſafe Dependance, even ſome of our Biſhops have run into the Hereſy of aſſerting the *Bible to be the Religion of Proteſtants*; and that the Motives of this World, are not appointed by Chriſt, nor fit in their Nature, to promote his Kingdom, which is *not of this World*. And that the foreing Men to profeſs *againſt* their Conſciences, or be ſilent in *Spite* of their Conſciences, where the Civil Peace is not Concern'd, ſhould be Popery! *Oh deliver Iſrael* —— from the Liberty of the Preſs, from the Freedom of Diſputation, from the Writings of the Biſhop of *Bangor*, from Toleration, and Moderation; from the Repeal of Acts which puniſh without Crimes! —— While I was running on at this rate, Sir, ſays my Friend, this is the true meaning of all his Noiſe. But as he has order'd the Matter, it is ſuch a Rhapſody, ſuch a Medly of *South*, *Stillingfleet*, *Sanderſon*, *Coleman* and *Dawſon*; ſuch looſe incoherent Fuſtian; as I believe was hardly ever heard from, or publiſh'd by, any Fanatic, ſince the Name *Fanatic* has been tranſlated from its original Import, to ſignify any thing that the *Governing Clergy* do not like. For, continues he, as free as this Author is with the Term *Fanatic*, which he lays on ſo thick and faſt, if the Temper of this Author be prevailing among the Clergy of the Church of *England*, they may take the Title among themſelves, for I queſtion whether the wildeſt Sect among the Diſſenters do ſo well deſerve it.

Criticks give us this Account, how *Fanaticus*, which in its Primary Signification had an honourable Meaning, came afterwards to be a Term

of

of Reproach; *Quia Sacerdotes cum Reſponſa dabant, Furore pleni, inſanire videbantur* *. *Becauſe the Prieſts when they gave the Anſwers of the Oracles, filled with Fury, were ſeen to Rage and Rave like Madmen.* If that be reaſon for an Application of the Word in the reproachful Sence, then I am ſure the truer Title would have been *Suſpiria Fanatica*; for when you come to read the Paper, you will ſee that they are more like the Rants of one that Raves, than the devout Breathings of a Son of the Church. He Toſſes and Foams, he Bounces and Whines——and you cannot but ſmile at the Air he gives himſelf, all the while he is dealing out, what he thinks Wit, fine Strains, clinching Stroakes, and ſublime Language.

And this muſt be called the *Church of England's Memorial*——We have had of late ſeveveral of theſe Memorialiſts, Pretenders to ſpeak the Sence of the Church, when they are only delivering the Language of a Faction. He had better have let the Word *Memorial* alone, becauſe it brings to Mind a famous Thing of that Name; which was a Collection of Groans too, or *Suſpiria Sacra* (*i. e.*) Sighing for Places. All was a going into a Flame. The Queen her ſelf was given to underſtand, in a menacing Manner, that *Nature would Rebel againſt Principle*, if they were not put into ſuch Places; for as a good Writer has obſerv'd, *when a leading Man begins to grow Apprehenſive for the Church, you may be ſure that he is either in danger of looſing*

* Perott.

his

his Place, or in deſpair of getting One. It's pleaſant on theſe Occaſions to ſee a Notorious Profligate ſeized with a Concern for his Religion, and converting his Spleen into Zeal. As for our Memoraliſt, I may entirely acquit him from the charge of his *Nature Rebelling againſt Principle*, for his Nature and Principles too well agree. A Spirit, the worſt, one of them, that ever I met with in my Life; and Principles, upon Examination, I believe, that will appear as vile as ever came from Jeſuit or Enthuſiaſt; for all his *Admonition to Jeſuits and their Patrons from the Statute Law*: Which is all Blunder, and turns the Ridicule upon himſelf, where he deſign'd a Sneer upon ſome Body elſe: For which I refer him to the Author of, *Dr.* Snape *Inſtructed in ſome Matters, eſpecially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* In which, Dr. *Dawſon* too, may be Inſtructed, that there is nó neceſſity of a formal *Renunciation in the Face of the Church*, nor any *Law* of the Land, or *Canon* of the Church, however he would force his private Interpretations of them, that requires any ſuch expreſs Ceremony. The Statute of 35 *Eliz. ch.* 1 relates to Popiſh Recuſants Convict, who are her Majeſty's Subjects; and the Title is *to retain them in due Obedience*, with no manner of Reference to the receiving of Foreigners and Strangers, into our Religious Communion. Their abjuring there, is only to abjure the Realm; and their *open Submiſſion and Declaration of Conformity*, there preſcrib'd, was to avoid legal Proſecution

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* *Dr.* Snape *Inſtructed*, &c. p. 23.

and

and Penalties, and give a Security to the Civil Government. The other Forms in Law are the Oaths of *Supremacy*, of *Allegiance*, and the *Teſt* of *Renouncing Tranſubſtantiation*, &c. which indeed, are ſuch full and effectual Forms of Abjuring Popery, and the Principal Tenets of it, that this ſeems a good reaſon why no other *Publick Form* of Recantation has been yet required by any Law of the Land. There is not a Line of all the Doctor has Extracted from the Statute Law, that bears home to the Point it is levell'd at. Nor any thing more Jeſuitical in the Fraternity againſt whom thoſe Laws were made, than the Innuendo in the Words JESUITS *and their Patrons.* For to return the Doctor's Query, in p. 56 of his Memoral, I alſo Query. *If a Perſon who owns himſelf to have been a Jeſuit has given all ſuch Proof of his being Otherwiſe, as the Law of the Land Directs, and Requires,* and more than ever is required, out of the abundance of his Satisfaction, Sincerity of Heart, and Conviction of Mind; *whether ſuch Perſon can be ſet forth to the World as a Jeſuit ſtill,* but to ſerve a Jeſuitical Purpoſe?

It's time for me now to take Notice that this Memorial is dedicated to his *Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the Abſence of the Convocation.* This *Abſence of the Convocation,* I ſuppoſe, muſt be taken for a *Sigh* too. But methinks there is no Room for it here at all; for the Doctor being a Member of that Convocation, which was ſo fired at the Apprehenſion of the Biſhop of *Bangor*'s *Impugning the King's Supremacy*; and *Obſerved it with ſo much Grief of Hearts*

Hearts *: He muſt needs rejoyce with them, to ſee the *Supremacy* Exert it ſelf, at a Seaſon, when it might give full aſſurance, that no Infection of that Doctrine had in the leaſt reached the Crown.

There was no great Manners in Addreſſing this Heap of Tales to His Grace of *Canterbury* at all: An Invective againſt all Changes whatſoever; againſt the leaſt Condeſcention or Complyance; againſt altering any thing, in Articles, Diſcipline or Rituals, of the Church; when as, if I remember right, it is not above Ten Years ago, ſince *Biſhop Wake* delivered his Opinion as freely, and in a very Solemn Aſſembly, in Favour of that *Wicked Deſign* of Comprehenſion: Telling us, no leſs a Man than *Archbiſhop Sancroft* was in it: And, in a Manner that became ſo excellent a Perſon, rebuking the Vehemency of another Pious Doctor, who talked of it in much the ſame Strain with this Memorialiſt †: And appealing to the Audience whether the Proſecution of that Deſign, would not have been for the Intereſt of the Church of *England*,

It is true, he is ſince become Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but that riſing Ground, I am willing to believe, has inabled *His Grace*, the more clearly to diſcern, the happy Conſequences of what he before ſpoke ſo favourably of. This Doctor tells us, indeed, of a *Noble Stand*, his Grace made ſome time ago in the Houſe of Lords; yet I dare proceed ſo

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* *Report of the Committee.*

† *Speech at Dr. Sacheverel's Tryal.*

far,

far, too, as firmly to believe, that his Grace will never approve that heatheniſh Advice, which this Doctor lays before him in *Page* 8 of his Preface, which I ſhall hereafter take a little more Notice of.

He begins his Addreſs, *When I conſider* (here he makes his Bow) *the many Adverſaries the Church of* England *has to engage with at this time, 'tis matter of the greateſt Grief and real Concern,* ('tis ſo great that it is even Real) *that I am forced to Introduce one of their own High Order,* &c.

When I conſider the many Friends the Church of *England* has, to ſtand by, ſupport, defend, her; the Laws in her Favour, the Temporal Advantages that attend her Communion, her full and intire engroſſing of all Privileges and Immunities, Favours and Grace of the Government, in Church and State; 'tis Matter of the greateſt Aſtoniſhment to ſee ſome People, ſo inſatiable and implacable.

He is forced to Introduce the Biſhop of Bangor *as having become one of the greateſt diſturbers of the Unity of the Church.* I would ask this Doctor of Divinity, Member of the Convocation, what is the *Church*? In what conſiſts the *Unity* of the Church? What is it to *Diſturb* that Unity? What is it to be the *greateſt* Diſturber of it? He ſeems to have no Notion of all theſe, but that of Uniformity of Articles, Rituals, Prayers and Ceremonies; including a dependance on the Biſhop; which alſo compoſes another Doctor's *Beauty of Holineſs*: All which may be where there is not a Dram of that *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, recommended in the Divine Writings. Let this Gentleman know,

that the greateſt Diſturbers of the Church's Unity and Peace, have been, are, and always will be, the Patrons of that Church Power which the Biſhop of *Bangor* has wreſted out of the Hands of weak Men: Hands no more fit to wield that, than the Thunders of Heaven: And lodg'd it in thoſe Hands, where only God ever truſted it, thoſe of our Saviour's. He has appointed the *Bible* to be our Religion, and mutual Charity to be the Center of *Unity*. The Biſhop of *Bangor*, by ſhowing, that Chriſt has done ſo; is, it ſeems, the *moſt fatal Subverter of the Church's Eſtabliſhment*. This is Satyrical upon the Eſtabliſhment, to repreſent it ſuch, that a Chriſtian Biſhop cannot lay open to the World, the Scripture Doctrine, in theſe Caſes, without falling foul upon the Eſtabliſhment. The Buſineſs of Eſtabliſhment has little to do in ſuch Diſquiſitions about the Scripture Doctrine, unleſs we go to the *Statute Laws* for our *Religion*, as well as for *Admonitions to Jeſuits*. But how comes the bringing us back to our Bibles to be the *moſt fatal Subverſion of its Eſtabliſhment?* I ſhould have thought, that of the two, the carrying us clear away from them to *Pope*, and Tradition, *more fatal*.

Or how can the bringing us back to our Bibles, be, as the Doctor goes on to call it, *a diſputing away the very Foundations of Faith, and reſolving to unhinge the beſt of Churches at once?* What other Foundations of Faith has this Man got, beſides his *Bible*? Does he not *build upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets?* Or is an Act of Parliament the Foundation of his Faith? What *Hinges* does this Man's Church

turn

turn upon? Is it *Unhinging* and Subverting a Proteſtant Church, to fix it upon the *Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief Corner-Stone?* Without which every *Foundation* is Sand, and every *Building* Hay and Stubble, and every Advantage of Eſtabliſhment (which is the great Concern, *hinc illa Suſpiria*) common to the beſt and worſt of Churches, Truth and Error, Superſtition and Religion?

In anſwer to the remaining Part of this Paragraph, I need do no more than play back upon the Doctor his own Words; putting the queſtion, where *Human Inventions are Sacred Inſtitutions of Chriſt*; to ſhow, that the Exerciſe of all that Power, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, which ſome Men contend for, is Tyranny and Uſurpation: To let ſhallow Reaſoners know, that while they inſinuate, that the Church muſt needs be Chaos and Confuſion, without their Supplements to the Laws of Chriſt; as if thoſe Laws have not ſufficiently provided for the Regularity of his Society; is to Blaſpheme our great Law-giver, *who was Faithful in all his Houſe.* To ſhow, that the *Bible*, which is plain in all neceſſary things; that a *free Debate*, mutual Charity and Forbearance, and Allowance for different Apprehenſions; with the Magiſtrates Care of the Publick Peace, to whom it belongs; that theſe, are an *effectual Proviſion, under the Influence of Providence, to maintain Truth, and preſerve Peace and Order*; and that the Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom *are left at Liberty, to think, and ſpeak, and act*, not as *they pleaſe* (as the Doctor deſignedly Words it) but as they *think* they *ought*, after their ſincere Endeavours to

come at the Knowledge of his Will; and that without any *Coercion* or *Reſtraints*: Theſe are no longer *Scruples*, at all, with any, but the Enthuſiaſts of the *coercing* and *reſtraining* Clan: And the having ſet theſe things in ſo clear a Light, and ſupported them with ſo good Evidence, inſtead of what he calls here an *Indelible Reproach to the Epiſcopal Character*, will place his Lordſhip at the Head of a new *Æra* of Liberty and Truth in the World, (however he may miſtake in ſome Points) and tranſmit his Name with Renown to the lateſt Poſterity.

How can the Doctor ſay, that, becauſe Chriſt is the ſole Law-giver of his Church, and the Bible our Religion; and our Salvation depending not upon particular Methods of Religion, but Sincerity in the Conduct of our Conſciences; that therefore there can be *no Argument uſed from the Truth, Advantage, and Neceſſity, of embracing the Doctrines of Chriſtianity* to *Jews, Heretics or Schiſmatics?* When the Concluſion lies quite the other way; that therefore, we may urge Arguments from the *Truth*, &c. becauſe they are moſt likely to be effectual, where Sincerity conducts the Conſcience: And on the other Side, if that *Coercion and Reſtraint*, which this Gentleman declares for, muſt be uſed, there is then no need of Argument to *Jews*, *Heretics*, and *Schiſmatics*: For arguing is a Jeſt, when Evidence or no Evidence, Conviction or no Conviction, Men muſt comply: 'Tis Nonſence to pretend to argue with any one upon this Man's Scheme, which allows not a Man to *judge* of an Argument.

The Writers of this Size, I have obſerved, affect to make an Eternal Jingling with the Sounds,

Sounds, *Hereſy and Schiſm*, &c. One of the worſt *Hereſies* in the World, is the Doctrine of Coercion: It robs God of all Reaſonable Service, ſtocks the World with *Hypocriſy and Atheiſm, Cruelty and Violence*: Offers ſuch Sacrifices to God, that for any Man to ſay that God is pleaſed with them, has nothing worſe left to ſay of the Devil himſelf. And as for *Schiſm*, I defy this Doctor to clear himſelf of it, while he remains in the Temper and Spirit with which he wrote this *Memorial.*

For any one to ſay (ſays the Doctor) *that ſuch a* Prelate *is in the Intereſt of the* Quakers, or Socinians, or Papiſts, *is a (Charge as has been already very well obſerved,) equally unjuſt with ſaying that he is in the Intereſt of the Church of* England. And yet it follows; *He may now therefore engrave Sincerity upon a* Badge; *and when* Jews, Turks, Chriſtians, Barbarians, Indians, and Hottentots, *have fixed it upon their Breaſts, let this* Britiſh Noailles *deny if he can, that they all belong to the ſame Religious Houſhold.*

What Right has this Man to complain of an *Inſulting Infantry of Wits*, who can thus *Inſult* a Governor of the Church? What Right has this Man to any Civilities, from thoſe, who may have a mind to ſhow him to the World? His Lordſhip of *Bangor* and the *Hottentots are of the ſame Religious Houſhold*; and let him *deny it if he can.* And all this becauſe his Lordſhip has aſſerted, with the whole Bible on his Side; that *Sincerity in the Conduct of a Man's Conſcience*, is more toward the Favour of God, than any *particular Methods of Religion.* This Man does not ſeem to know, that a Sincere *Hottentot* is in a better State than a *Hypocrite*: That an Hypocri-

pocritical Profeſſion of the beſt Religion in the World, in all its *particular Methods*, is no more in God's account than a formal Lye: And will end in ſo much an hotter Hell, that I had rather be a Sincere *Hottentot* than a Chriſtian Hypocrite: Profeſſing Articles I do not believe; calling *Jeſus Lord and Maſter*, and yet clapping my *ſelf* into his Seat; may well lead one to apply that Saying of Chriſt, that it will be *more Tolerable in the Day of Judgment* for a *Hottentot* than for ſuch.

Britiſh Noailles! I congratulate his Lordſhip upon this. Where the Doctor will place the Reſemblance I cannot tell, no more than I can what was in his Head to make the Compariſon; while all the World will be running a Parallel, immediately, between them; that as the one is oppoſing the Tyranny of the *Pope* over the *Church in France*, ſo the other is oppoſing *Proteſtant Popery* at home, or the *abſolute Power* of the Clergy over the *Church of* England: The one Appeals from the *Conſtitution of Clement* XI *to the* Pope *better advis'd, and to the future General Council*; the other Appeals from the *Pope's Council* and *Clergy*, to the *Bible*, the Principles of *Chriſtianity*, and of the *Reformation*. The *French Noailles* demands of Infallibility to explain himſelf; the *Britiſh Noailles* does the ſame, of Men, who deny themſelves to be Infallible, and yet act as if they were: The one is making a *Noble Stand* againſt *Monarchical Popery*; the other, againſt the *Ariſtocratical* or *Republican*. The *French Noailles* is perſecuted by all the Rabble of the Jeſuited Clergy, repreſented by their *Dawſons* as one of the *greateſt Diſturbers of the Church's Uni-*

ty,

ty, *the moſt fatal Subverter of its Eſtabliſhment, who is now diſputing away the very Foundations of Faith*, and abundance more ſuch *Suſpiria Sacra*. And conſidering what the *Cardinal* has ſaid, in his Appeal, he may be told by the *French Memorialiſts*, that let *him engrave Sincerity upon a* Badge, *and when Hereticks of all ſorts have fixed it upon their Breaſts, let this* Gallick Bangor *deny* if *He* can, *that they belong to the ſame Religious Houſhold.* The *French Noailles* is for uſing his own Eyes in Matters of Faith, and believing upon Evidence, and not meerly upon humane Authority; and herein he agrees, in ſome meaſure, with the *Biſhop of Bangor*; but with this Difference, that it does not appear the *Cardinal* is as willing, that other People, who may be in dependance upon him, and owe him *Eccleſiaſtical* Subjection, ſhould uſe the ſame freedom with his Deciſions, as he does with thoſe of the Sovereign Pontiff: Whereas the *Biſhop of Bangor* allows it, as well as takes it. The Doctor wants the *Preſs* to be under the Lock and Key of the Convocation; that is, of his Party in it; and then we ſhould be preſerved from *Infidelity, Hereſy, and Schiſm*, as They are in Catholic Countries. And they who keep the Preſs will pronounce whatever they diſlike, *Counterband Goods*. By *Faith*, theſe ſort of Men ſeem to mean, *believing as the Church believes*. And by *Infidelity*, they mean, the not believing as the Church believes. Whereby, it comes to paſs, ſometimes, as well at Home as in Catholick Countries, that a Man may believe all the Articles of the Apoſtles *Creed*, his whole *Bible*, and keep all the *Commandments*, as well as his Neighbour,

and

and yet in theſe Mens account be an *Infidel*, *Heretick*, and *Schiſmatick*.

The Doctor proceeds; *There's a large inſulting Infantry of Wits, my Lord, without the leaſt Reduction yet made, who would bring Deiſm and Irreligion into Faſhion, forſooth, and make Profaneneſs the Character of a Gentleman,——and eſteem it an Argument of Judgment and Ingenuity, to be above the Follies of Conſcience——when Men are once grown able to laugh at Conſcience, I preſume we may, without Breach of Charity, affirm, that ſuch Perſons have no Honeſty but Advantage, and that Intereſt is the only Endearment of their Duty to their Prince.*—— I lament all this with the Doctor where it is found; I lament, alſo, the Occaſion of that *Inſulting Infantry*'s growing ſo large. Of which one great one is, the Pretenſions and Writings of ſuch Men as this Memorialiſt; for Men are never more provoked to deny to *Miniſters* even what is their due, than when *Miniſters* preſume to *lord it over God's Heritage*, and to have *Dominion over their Faith*. I lament again, that this *Doctor* is ſo little likely to contribute any thing towards the *Reduction* of this *Infantry*. I lament more ſtill, that he himſelf is too liable to be rank'd mong the *Laughers at Conſcience*: As he muſt be, who *laughs at Sincerity* in the Conduct of it, as that, which makes the *Chriſtian* and *Hottentot* of the ſame Houſhold: For what is Conſcience, without Sincerity in the Conduct of it? He muſt needs make light of Conſcience, who is for *coercing* Men, *and reſtraining* them from *thinking as they pleaſe* (or rather) as they *think they ought*, when he ſhews no regard to Evidence and Conviction. If my Conſcience is *Coerced*, it's all one

one to me, whether it be by the *Council* of *Trent*, a *Convocation*, or an *Aſſembly of Divines*. And to me, they are all *Laughers* at Conſcience, who can make ſo light a Matter of it, as to force me againſt my Conſcience, or puniſh me for conducting my ſelf by it, though without any Crime againſt the State.

When Men are once grown able to laugh at Conſcience.—(ſays the Doctor) what muſt *Conſcience* here ſtand for? For the Publick Conſcience, or a Man's private one? Not this latter, ſure, for this is *Sincerity*; the formidable *Badge* of the *Britiſh Noialles*: 'Tis that which the Apoſtle *Rejoyced in*, the *Teſtimony of his Conſcience that in Sincerity and Godly Simplicity he had his Converſation*; and conſequently, wearing this *Badge*, *let St. Paul deny if he can that they all belong to the ſame Religious Houſhold*: *Jews*, *Turks*, *Chriſtians*, *Indians*, *Barbarians*, *Hottentots*, *the Britiſh Noialles and the Apoſtle Paul*. Thus Conſcience is *laughed at!* for what is *Sincerity*, compared with *Uniformity*, that *Beauty of Holineſs?* What is inward Sincerity, in Compariſon of ſome *Particular Methods* of Religion? Indeed God is ſaid to *Love Truth in the inward Parts*, ſo far, as to declare, that in the want of it, he *abhor'd* the particular Methods even of his own Inſtitution; however now it is laughed at and run down, as an Enemy to *Uniformity and Eccleſiaſtical Obedience*. It diſputes the Authority of the Guardians and Conſervators of Religion. It bids them ſhow their Commiſſion, for what they ſay and do; and pretends to Judge of that Commiſſion (without which it would be in vain to call for the

Sight of it) whether it be to *Counſel*, and *Adviſe* what Doctrines *may* be received upon Evidence, or to *Decide and Decree* what ſhall be by Force whether there be Evidence or no; and to Excommunicate all that believe or propoſe Otherwiſe.

Inſtead of making Alterations for the Eaſe of thoſe Conſciences, which he ſeems to allow may be laughed at, without being thought one *who knows no Honeſty but Advantage*; He propoſes to his *Grace of Canterbury*, the Advice, that a *great Stateſman gave to* Auguſtus *upon his firſt Settlement of the* Roman Empire, viz. *That he ſhould follow conſtantly the Eſtabliſh'd Religion of his Country, (Heatheniſm) for all Innovations (though for Truth and Chriſtianity) would foment Sedition in the State, (not without the Pagan Prieſts) and be a means to ſubvert his Government.* i. e. Let us have our old *Mumpſimus* continued, our Altars and Temples *&c.* and as for the *Liberties of the People*, Auguſtus, they are all at your Service. In following this Advice, *Auguſtus* was bound to be an Enemy to the Chriſtian Religion, and to oppoſe its coming into the World; was bound to defend all the Rabble of the *Heathen Deities*; and all the barbarous Medley of *Rituals*, obſerved in their Worſhip throughout the World; tho' it were in Oppoſition to the *God of Iſrael*, who ſhould at any time become known to them. This is a Maxim that will fit all Magiſtrates, and Conſtitutions, as well as a *Roman*. What Service it would do to the true Religion throughout the World, I know not; tho' it may be of Advantage to the Prieſts of all Eſtabliſhments. Such

Such *Advice* as this, was fit enough for an *Heathen*, whoſe Religion was nothing but the Invention of the Prieſts. Such *Advice*, would become the Mouth of a *Bonner* or *Gardiner*, whoſe Religion was the *Authority* of the *Church*, her *Canons* and *Councils*: But what Decency, or Conſiſtency is there, in telling a Proteſtant *Archbiſhop* to his Face, that his Grace would *rather approve ſuch Advice as* this, than agree to any Alterations? Tho' never ſo much for the better, or to never ſo good Purpoſes? Advice that muſt have hindred the Worſhip of the *God of Iſrael* taking place, tho' upon the ſtrongeſt Conviction of the Pagan Superſtition. That muſt have hindred *Chriſtianity* entering the *Roman Empire*; and prevented the *Reformation* from Popery; which according to this Advice, is an *Innovation*, that all the Catholick Eſtabliſhments, are to guard againſt: *Advice*, that obliges the Eſtabliſh'd *Church of Scotland* to ſend away all the Innovating Epiſcopalians; and Advice, that is directly contrary to the *Church's Annual Wiſh*, for ſuch Alterations as may Innovate ſome better Methods of *Godly Diſcipline*; as well as to her ſtanding Prayer, *that thy Ways be known upon Earth, thy ſaving Health among all Nations*; which cannot be anſwered, if all Nations *follow conſtantly the Eſtabliſhed Religion of the Country*, in defiance of all Innovations.

The Quotation from Dr. *South*, (*p.* 2. of this Memorial) is as Heatheniſh, as that given to *Auguſtus*: It is ſuitable to the Temper of that ſnarling Declaimer, who ſeems to owe a deal of the Poignancy of his *Satyr*,

to a Reſolution of being witty, in ſpite of his *New Teſtament.* However, the Doctor lays it down, as a moſt undoubted Truth, in Doctor *South*'s Words, *That the beſt and moſt Apoſtolical way to eſtabliſh a Church, and ſecure to it a laſting Continuance of the Truth and Purity of the Goſpel, is, for the Governors and Miniſters thereof, not to give Place at all, or yeild up the leaſt lawful received Conſtitution of it, to the Demands or the Pretences of ſuch as* Diſſent *or* Separate *from it, though never ſo Urging and Unfortunate.* This, that he calls the *moſt Apoſtolical*, is in full Oppoſition to the Apoſtle's Directions, *Rom.* 14. *to receive him that is Weak in the Faith, but not to doubtful Diſputations; let not him that eats deſpiſe him that eateth not, nor him that eateth not judge him that eateth —— who art thou that judgeſt another Man's Servant? one Man eſteemeth one Day —— why doſt thou ſet at nought thy Brother —— to him that eſteemeth any thing Unclean, to him it is unclean,* v. 15. *but if thy Brother be grieved with thy Meat, now walkeſt thou not charitably,* v. 19. *let us therefore follow the things that make for Peace, and things wherewith one may edify another,* v. 20. *For Meats deſtroy not the Work of God; all things indeed are pure, but it is evil for that Man who eateth with Offence,* v. 21. *it is good neither to eat Fleſh, nor drink Wine, nor any thing whereby thy Brother ſtumbleth, or is offended or is made weak,* Ch. 15. v. 2. *let every one of us pleaſe his Neighbour for his Good to Edification.* I leave the Reader to judge between Dr. *South* and the *Apoſtle*, as to Apoſtolical Ways.

The

The Doctor tells the *Fanatics*, they muſt not be *hired to be Loyal* but muſt be Obedient for Conſcience-Sake. *What? Muſt Fanatics be hired to do their Duty?* No ſure, all Hire and Wages muſt be reſerved for the *Church*, as well as all *Power*; the *Church* is attach'd to *Monarchy* (ſays he) *by Religious Principle and Obedience without Diſtinction or Reſerve, at leaſt without Treacherous Diſtinction or Reſerve*: She has no *Gall, nor Teeth, nor Talons*; ſhe can be Stript, and Scourg'd and Trampled upon, without ever flying in the Face of her Sovereign. She never complemented a King with any Powers, but what ſhe was reſolved to ſubmit to, tho' with the Loſs of *all*. Such a *Church* as this can never do a Prince any Harm; and therefore let him but get over the Fanaticks to him, and he muſt be out of all Danger. The Church being devoted to him by *Principle*, 'tis but bribing the *Fanatics*, and all is Safe. This Man is no Conjurer.

There is one Thing I wonder at, that among all theſe Sighs and Groans I can find ſo little beſtowed upon the Danger of Religion, from Drunkeneſs, Debauchery and Prophaneſs. The Church ſeems to be in no Danger from them; no, nor would it be from *Infidelity*, if that were but good-natured enough to do the Church's Drudgery, as in Catholic Countries, where the *Atheiſt* ſits in Judgment upon the *Heretic*. All manner of Wickedneſs never run higher in *Britain*, than under the Chaſte, Pious, Prudent *Charles* II. and yet the *Doctor's Church* was in no Danger, made no *Suſpiria*, no Outcries, but againſt

gainſt thoſe who imagin'd the Proteſtant Religion to loſe ground. The Reaſon ſeems to be, the Liberty there was to take Vengeance upon Diſſenters at that time: And if the Spirit of *Demolition* had received the ſame Encouragement now as a while ago, I beg the Doctor's Pardon if he thinks me too ſevere in imagining that then, our preſent *Sighers* would have been among the *Laughers at Conſcience.*

Sir, when I firſt began to write, I thought I ſhould have had room for ſome Remarks on ſeveral Paſſages in the *Memorial;* but finding my Letter already grown to a length I did not intend, I ſhall chooſe to break off here, with this Obſervation; That, if the Government be intimidated from purſuing its *true Intereſt,* by ſuch Sighing and Groaning as this, the *Doctor's Church* will be ſo far from being a *Support* to the *State,* that it will make it *Truckle* to it.

I am, Sir,

&c.

FINIS.

THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. XII.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Pride of AUTHORS.

Proud and haughty Scorner is his Name, who dealeth in proud Wrath. (Heb.) *In the Wrath of Pride.* Prov. XXI. *v.* 24.

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AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Pride of AUTHORS.

NOTHING is more amiable than Modeſty. It entitles to univerſal Regard. It brightens every other Excellence, and makes all Imperfections pardonable: It raiſes in Mankind the moſt friendly Diſpoſition to all whom they ſee poſſeſſed of it: And, above moſt other things, qualifies a Man both to give, and to receive, Entertainment and Inſtruction. For theſe Reaſons it has been ever eſteem'd the moſt recommending Quality in Converſation.

And theſe Things, which make an humble Man ſo agreeable and uſeful a Companion, ſhould be ſufficient to make every Author, who deſigns either the Satisfaction or Improvement of thoſe that read him, ſollicitous to guard againſt every Degree of Inſolence, every Expreſſion and Mark of an haughty Mind. And accordingly it has been an uſual Method, a prevailing Stratagem with moſt Writers, to put on an Air of Modeſty; and either in the Beginning, or the Cloſe of their Work, to diſclaim all ſelfiſh Views and conceited Thoughts of their own Merit. It is true, theſe lowly Profeſſions are often accompany'd with ſuch plain Marks of Self-Eſteem as to deſtroy their own Credit: An Author can't reaſonably expect, nor does he always deſire to be believ'd, when he ſays, His Adverſary *has ſaid more Good of him than he deſerves* (*a*); or when he ſeems to allow himſelf to be a *weak, ignorant Writer* (*b*): One who thro' Ignorance, tho' with no Deſign of Calumny, might miſrepreſent the Senſe of plain Words. This is ſo far from being the Effect of Humility, that it is a peculiar and very ſucceſsful Art of Oſtentation; which the late Earl of *Shaftsbury* in his *Advice to an Author* (*c*) rallies upon with great Juſtneſs and Humour. 'There appears, *ſays he*, ſuch a peculiar Grace 'and Ingenuity in the Method of confeſſing La-'zineſs, Precipitancy, Careleſsneſs, or whatever 'other Vices have been the Occaſion of the Au-'thor's Deficiency, that it would ſeem a pity 'had the Work itſelf been brought to ſuch a 'Perfection as to have left no room for the pe-'nitent

(*a*) *The Condition and Example of our Sav. Vindicated, p.* 50.
(*b*) *P.* 62. Ibid.
(*c*) *P.* 171.

'nitent Party to enlarge on his Demerits. Now 'this does very well in a Corollary or winding 'up; it ends pathetically, and the Reader doubt-'leſs will be ready on theſe Terms to give Ab-'ſolution to a confeſſing Author for thoſe Faults 'which he chuſes rather to excuſe than amend.' This artful Endeavour to palliate it, does, among Men of Judgment, but very imperfectly ſecure from that Offence which is juſtly taken at that Delight in himſelf, and inordinate Value for his own Performances, ſo frequently to be met with in an Author.

Now ſince this is an Evil, to which they who ſend their Thoughts abroad into the World, are ſo generally liable; ſince the Tendency of it is ſo unhappy, as that even Reaſon and good Senſe themſelves muſt ſuffer, and appear leſs agreeable, when propos'd with Pride and Scorn; it is worth while to conſider a little diſtinctly the Cauſes from which it may proceed. And upon Enquiry we ſhall find, that ſuch is the Make of our Minds, that an imaginary, as well as real, Excellence is apt to fill us with this Vanity and Conceit. And whatever is apt to make Men expect great Deference and Regard from thoſe with whom they converſe, will tempt an Author to conſider himſelf as ſuperior to moſt that read him, and to all that write againſt him.

An honourable Family; a Deſcent from Anceſtors in any Reſpect famous, eſpecially if conſiderable for their Learning; Great Titles, Marks of Eminence and Diſtinction; Great Eſtates, whether deriv'd from others, or of our own acquiring; bearing a public Character; repreſenting a Body of Men either generally eſteem'd or fear'd; a good Meaſure of Popularity; a Reputation

pretty

pretty well eſtabliſh'd, as far as it has reach'd in the World; a diſtinct and thorough Knowledge of the Subject treated on, a good ſtrong and clear Way of Reaſoning, Great Reading, A Beauty of Style, An acceptable Manner of expreſſing his Sentiments; An Art of ſeeming to write to the Purpoſe, appearing to be in Earneſt, and yet hiding a Man's real Thoughts, and keeping clear of every Difficulty thrown in his Way; Theſe, and ſuch like things, are ready to give an Author a very good Opinion of himſelf.

A Man, conſcious to himſelf that he has one, or more, of theſe Advantages above other Men, is in Danger of growing Arrogant and Conceited. Few Writers have all theſe, in any Degree of Eminence, together. Some of them are more conſiderable Perfections and Advantages, than others. One of them at leaſt, (the Colouring Art) is rather Ground of Shame than Glory.

Many fancy themſelves poſſeſs'd of more of thoſe Excellencies, and in an higher Meaſure, than more impartial Judges can ſee they have any Reaſon for. But were every thing of this Nature really to meet in an Author, in an envy'd Degree, 'tis very poſſible he may ſo far overvalue himſelf upon the Account of them, as to render what he writes leſs acceptable and uſeful.

I have been led into this Way of thinking, by obſerving that which, I dare ſay, has eſcap'd no attentive Reader's Notice; The uncommon Air of Diſtance and Superiority the Dean of *Chicheſter* has put on, in his late Controverſial Writings. There is no Man, it ſeems, good and great enough to ſay any thing contrary to his

Sentiments,

Sentiments; or ſo much as to put him in Mind of his own Opinions. 'Tis an unpardonable Preſumption in any Man, either to anſwer, or cenſure, what He has thought fit to publiſh. I cannot pretend to ſay, whether this be *Vitium Naturæ*, or *Animæ*; but that it is *Vitium* of ſome kind or other, I am very ſure: And ſince this worthy Perſon himſelf will not Say, every Body ſeems at Liberty to gueſs, on what he founds all this ſelf Eſteem.

For my Part, I would not willingly overlook any one thing, that may help to make him appear ſo very great and conſiderable in his own Eyes.

I readily acknowledge, that his good Father, the late Dean of St. *Paul*'s made, for a conſiderable Time, no contemptible Figure in the Learned World: He has left behind him, Works, which, if I miſtake not, will long endear his Memory to all that believe a Providence and a World to come, and have any Regard to the Practice of Virtue, under the Belief of a future Judgment and Retributions. But nothing of this Kind is needed to raiſe and ſpread the Reputation of the Son; *Non Genus & Proavos.* The *Dean* of *Chicheſter* does not care to hear his Father's Name mention'd, tho' in the moſt courteous and obliging Manner (*a*). 'Tis the leaſt thing of a thouſand to him, whether the Clamour againſt him, and the deſign'd Cenſure of him, by a Convocation, was *Right* and well grounded; or whether it was only *for explaining and vindicating a Doctrine of the Church, in the Integrity,*

(*a*) *Conſid.* p. 62. 63.

Integrity, as well as Zeal of his Heart (a). An Egregious Inſtance of that Heathen Virtue, *Pietas erga Patrem.*

But his Titles, his Dignities and Preferments ſeem to weigh more with him. Theſe he regards among the Things *Quæ fecimus ipſi.* As being the immediate Fruit, and the hardly ſufficient Reward, of his perſonal Merit; And Entitling to the ſame Priviledges which a raiſed Station and a plentiful Fortune, are wont to give Men in Converſation. Upon the Foot of theſe Advantages, he Demands to be read with uncommon Deference and Reſpect; and without any Contradiction from all who cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſo much Senſe and Knowledge, as he has, by ſome Thouſands of Pounds. Muſt not he be very inſolent and ill-bred who ſhall preſume with half his Eſtate, to convince a Man of his Subſtance and Figure of any Contradiction or Miſtake? Without any Concern to anſwer what is wrote, 'tis hard if a wealthy (*b*) *Dean* may not *leave it to the World to judge*, whether a Man ought to be ſuppoſed to have any Proportion of his Capacity and Judgment, who has not a fifth Part of his Dignity and Preferment.

But as great as he thus becomes in himſelf, he would think it an Injury ſhould his Readers conſider him merely as a private Perſon. He will be regarded as writing in *Vindication* of a *Conſtitution*, and ſo appears with the Authority of a *whole Church.* Surely a Member of a Committee of Convocation, when an Author in their behalf, may give himſelf out to be conſider'd as *that Committee*,

(*a*) *Bang.* P. S. *to Sykes.* p. 92.
(*b*) *Conſ.* p. 66. 67.

mittee, and that Committee as the *Convocation*, and the Convocation as *the Clergy of the Nation*. And a Reader muſt be very uncourteous, that does not regard the high Merit, collected together and ſummed up, by this Political Arithmetick, in one Perſon. None of thoſe who peruſe him, can ſure, with any Modeſty, think otherwiſe than he will allow; or appear to oppoſe him with any Decency, when they are to know, that if they ſhall be ſo hardy as to do ſo, they muſt of Courſe be *Enemies to the Church*. And whatever they ſay, if it has any Weight of Argument in it eſpecially, muſt be bitter *Inſinuations* againſt the *Clergy*. What a Gentleman of ſuch Conſideration as this, is pleaſed to make publick, ſhould, it is ſuppoſed, *ſtop the Mouths of the Enemies of the Conſtitution* (*a*). And if it ſhould not; but there ſhould be found ſome, who, notwithſtanding, ſhould ſtill think, and crave Leave to let the World know why they think differently; ſure a Perſon of ſuch accumulated Merit may have the Priviledge of declaring, without being charg'd with *Pride* or *Arrrgance*, that *he ſhall not value them* (*b*).

The *Dean* ſeems ſenſible, that by his accurate Preaching, and what he had already publiſh'd, he had obtain'd a very deſirable Meaſure of Eſteem among competent Judges. And he had both Reaſon and Inclination, to value himſelf more on the good Opinion another venerable Body of Men heretofore had of him,, than on the Regard ſhewn him by the whole Convoca-

(*a*) *Vindic. of Corpor. and Teſt Act's Preface.*

(*b*) Ibid.

tion. This, his partial Friends and fond Admirers have made ſo unhappy an Uſe of, as to inſinuate, that he need but write like himſelf to *outſhine* every Body elſe. And is the Juſtice, or Exactneſs, of their Opinions to be call'd in queſtion, or ſuſpended? If the Publick has any Manners, it is expected it will conform to the Senſe and the Approbation of the moſt Knowing and Judicious. The Credit of great Weight and Ability among Men celebrated for Wiſdom, ſhould entitle to univerſal Eſteem. The whole World muſt offer the ſame Incenſe to him, which they ſee others do, or they will betray their own Ignorance, falſe Taſte, and wrong Judgment; which will make them rather the Objects of Pity and Scorn, than of Regard.

But notwithſtanding what may be ſaid againſt the *Dean*, it muſt be own'd, that he generally commands a clear and a grateful *Style*. This is a very great Happineſs in an Author, to be able to expreſs his Sentiments in an agreeable Manner; and 'tis what Men are as apt inordinately to value themſelves upon, as any one Qualification whatever. They who know themſelves to be Maſters herein, are frequently tempted to write on Subjects, where nothing can ſupport them but a peculiar Elegancy, which they fancy muſt recommend all they ſay. And hence it comes to paſs, that upon the leaſt Variation of the *Manner* of *Expreſſion*, thoſe Things which ſeem to *ſerve* a Cauſe, ſhall be turn'd quite *againſt* it. The fine and handſom Paſſages which a Man may think mighty Embelliſhments to his own Arguments, ſhall be apply'd with more Truth, and conſequently uſed with much more Effect, on the other Side.

Side. Nay, ſometimes an Author ſhall grow ſo vain and proud of his own Manner of Writing, as to think himſelf capable of giving the faireſt Colours to the fouleſt Errors, or the worſt of Cauſes. A Conſciouſneſs of an happy Talent this Way, has drawn in many others, as well as helped to draw in the *Dean* of *Chicheſter*, to plead for one of the worſt Things in the World, *Perſecution*; and to throw Contempt upon one of the beſt Things in the World, *Proteſtant and Engliſh Liberty*. He knows that his Style is one of the beſt in the preſent Age: And therefore, tho' he ſhould fill a Book with Falſhood and Miſrepreſentations, he doubts not its paſſing well in the World. Tho' his *Quotations*, may be proved to be meer Calumnies; His Narrative and Hiſtorical Accounts *(v. g.)* of the *Incapacitating Laws relating to the Diſſenters*, may be proved no better than a finely contrived Story of his own dreſſing up; and tho' all his Arguments muſt therefore of Courſe be fallacious; yet he truſts to their Dreſs, and hopes That alone will be ſufficient to recommend every Thing he thinks fit to write.

The Things on which an Author may moſt juſtly value himſelf, are, a thorough and diſtinct Knowledge of the Subject on which he writes, and a Capacity and Inclination to reaſon juſtly and ſtrongly upon it. There is no conceivable Caſe, in which a Man aſſumes to himſelf, with ſo little Offence as in this: But then it muſt be added too, there is no Writer ſo little likely to do ſo, as one of this kind: For the ſame fine Talents that make him excell, do at the ſame Time lift him above that Weakneſs of Pride: The ſame Juſtneſs

of Underſtanding that makes an Author write a great many good Things, makes him afraid they are hardly good enough to be read. When a Man of a moderate Underſtanding thinks he writes divinely; a Man of a truly great Genius ſometimes thinks he writes tolerably well, and is pleas'd that he ſhould have the good Fortune to entertain and profit the World. It is not ſo uſual for a Man to pride himſelf in Writing well, as in making a Shew and an Appearance only of Writing to the Purpoſe. Real and great Merit ſeldom makes Men conceited in their Opinions of themſelves, or arrogant in their Carriage to others: But little Arts, plauſible Colours, and cunning Diſguiſes, are almoſt as inconſiſtent with Modeſty, as they are with Integrity.

For all that appears to diſintereſted and impartial Judges, Mr. *Sykes* (not to ſay the Biſhop of *Bangor*) knows full as much concerning the Subject of which he pretended to treat, as the *Dean* does of any of thoſe Affairs in which he gives himſelf out to be ſo thoroughly vers'd.

I don't believe that any Body, who has ſeen what has been *(a)* reply'd to it, will imagine that he thoroughly underſtood, or fairly repreſented, the Nature and Deſign of thoſe Acts he pretended to vindicate; whatever Confidence his Poſt in the *Temple* might give him, of his Sufficiency to ſtate a Point in Law. But what then? He is very ſenſible, that the Cauſe he

(a) Pref. to the Princip. of an Occaſ. Conf. and Lowman's *Defence of the Diſſenters.*

he has to manage is extreamly Popular; what the Generality of the People of this Land are at preſent ſtrongly diſpoſed and inclined to believe, on little or no Evidence: He knows that he has a very handſom and taking Way of telling this agreeable Story; and what need has he to fear their Anſwers, or Confutations? Every Principle much in Vogue, he catches at all Opportunities of mentioning, vindicating, and dilating upon. *In theſe Particulars* (to borrow his own Words, with much leſs Juſtice apply'd by him to his Lordſhip) *he ſpeaks out*; *However he has with more than Chriſtian Prudence avoided declaring his Opinion in many Things laid to his Charge*; and which he had undertaken, and publickly obliged himſelf to defend and make good.

And here I can't but obſerve, a pretty little Art this great Writer has, of wording even a Title Page, ſo as to prejudice a Reader in his Favour, or raiſe a groundleſs Odium in thoſe who ſhall venture to oppoſe him. Among other things, in his Anſwer to the Repreſentation of the Committee, the Biſhop of *Bangor* had wrote excellently well in behalf of the great End and Deſign for which the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* were made; *viz.* The keeping out Popery, and ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion; and uniting Proteſtants upon the true Principles of that Religion, ſo as that Popery may never more return among us. In a little Time out comes ſomething deſign'd by way of an Anſwer in a Paper bearing this Title, *A Vindication of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, in anſwer to the Biſhop of* Bangor's *Reaſons for the Repeal of them:* That is,

is, a Vindication of them againſt the Ends for which they were made: For the great Ends for which they are made, are of the Reaſons urged by the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and are indeed now become the juſt and ſufficient Reaſons for which they ſhould be repeal'd. Beſides, by ſuch a Title as this, the Book is ſecur'd from an Anſwer from any Hand that would dread (as who does not dread) being eſteem'd an ill Churchman; and is ſure of the Applauſe of all the true ſteady Friends to the Church, whether they read any farther than the Title Page, or no.

But he has improv'd and refin'd upon this Anſwer in his laſt Pamphlet; and with a diſingenuous Artfulneſs, beyond what I ever remember to have met with in any Writer of Controverſy, he has choſe a Title, againſt which it would be look'd upon as prophane and unchriſtian to write: *The Condition and Example of our bleſſed Saviour vindicated, in anſwer to the Biſhop of* B——r, *&c.* What! ſay the Common People preſently, does this Biſhop of *Bangor impugn* the *Condition and Example of our bleſſed Saviour* too? That's the Inſinuation. When alas! the good Biſhop is himſelf a lovely Copy of Chriſt's Example, and the beſt Defender of Chriſt's Authority, one of them, in the World. However, catching a Title that thus unavoidably throws an Odium on the Opponent, is like gaining the Weather-Gage in a Sea-Fight; the Fleet that is to the Leeward is ſure to have all the Smoak of both Firings in their Face: For who dares write againſt a Pamphlet whoſe Title is, *A Vindication of Chriſt's Example*, &c.?

Theſe

Theſe are ſome, if not all the Advantages which the *Dean* brought with him into this Controverſy. He values himſelf, more than a little, in ſome or all of theſe; and is ſo big with them, He can hardly forbear, in every Page, to make his Reader ſenſible that he ſtands upon riſing Ground. He does not indeed, in expreſs Words, ſay, what I cannot, without great and grievous Offence, hear even my Lord *Bacon* himſelf ſay concerning his Works; that *He conceives they may laſt as long as Books laſt* (*a*). Nor with the late ingenious Mr. *John Norris*, that he *hopes a very difficult Argument has loſt Nothing by his Management* (*b*). But the Marks of the *Dean*'s Arrogance are but very little more conceal'd, and leſs viſible than theſe; and therefore can hardly be ſaid to be leſs ſhocking; eſpecially to any Man who thinks, as poſſibly ſome may think, they have leſs indiſputable and ſolid Merit to ſupport them.

The Diſſenters indeed (a deſpis'd People) could expect no other, when ſo great a Man ſhould condeſcend ſo low as to write againſt them, but to be ſet at the utmoſt Diſtance that Pride of Expreſſion could contrive. And Mr. *Sykes* muſt not only be content to be told, but take it as a Favour that ſo friendly an Excuſe is made for him; that however, he thought himſelf fit to be an Author, yet he wrote without *knowing any Thing of the Matter*. But who can with Patience ſee the *Dean*'s Haughtineſs

(*a*) *Epiſtle Dedicatory before his Eſſays.*
(*b*) *Charge of Schiſm.*

tineſs, in the contemptuous Expreſſions he uſes towards one, who, by the Favour of Providence, is made his Superior; and that both by his Station in the *Church*, and his Place among the *Peers* of the *Realm*. Here 'tis ſhameful to obſerve how much the *Dean* writes both out of Character, and out of Temper.

Even before my Lord had taken any particular Notice of him, or any farther Notice of the Convocation than barely to ſay he was preparing an Anſwer to the *Committee* (*a*), the *Dean* begins to expreſs his Arrogance in the moſt unſeeemly Menaces. He gives the Biſhop to know, that if *he would pretend to juſtify his Sermon, he ſhould find that he has a Matter of another Nature upon his Hands, than ever yet he was engaged in* (*b*). And the Reaſon why his Lordſhip was to find it ſuch hazardous and difficult Work to defend his Sermon, we may ſuppoſe was particularly this, becauſe when his Lordſhip ſhall publiſh his Anſwer, the *Dean* will *neither be afraid nor aſham'd to own the Cauſe, and do the Work of the Church. I will take my Share in the common Defence of the Repreſentation of the Committee in which I concurred.* As ever therefore the Biſhop would keep clear of ſo very formidable an Adverſary, it concern'd him to lay aſide all Thoughts of an Anſwer, and reſt ſatisfied with the Chaſtizement he had, for Fear of worſe. The ſame Air of Authority he had before put on, when conſidering himſelf

(*a*) *Anſw. to Dr.* Snape.

(*b*) *Anſwer to a Letter ſent to the Rev. Dr.* Sherlock, *p.* 51, 53.

ſelf no doubt, as ſpeaking in the Name of the mighty *We* of the Convocation *(a)*, he thus inſults and threatens his Lordſhip: *He'll find that* Something *he muſt part with, and I heartily wiſh him the happier Choice.*

When, notwithſtanding all thoſe Threatnings, his Lordſhip purſu'd his Reſolution of defending the Doctrines laid down in his Sermon, I know not whether the *Dean* diſcovers more plainly, a Meanneſs of Spirit in watching for any ſeeming Miſtake in Expreſſion, or Pride in inſulting upon any ſuch Appearance. In his *P. S.* to Mr. *Syke*'s Second Letter, *the Biſhop* had ſpoke of an Action as a Law of Chriſt, which perhaps is neither ſo unuſual nor improper a Way of Speaking as the *Dean* would repreſent it: However, if the *Dean* had any Objection againſt it, he was free, to beſure, to expreſs his Diſlike of it *(b)*. But the Manner in which he does it, is worthy himſelf; and either above, or below any Man's Imitation. *You could not, my Lord, be accurate in the Language, if you would humour your Principle. There is a Reaſon and Philoſophy even in Language, which ſome Doctrines cannot bear; as your Lordſhip will find, when you endeavour to juſtify the Expreſſion, or ſupport your Doctrine, without it.* What Triumphs! What needleſs ill-grounded Triumphs are thoſe? But this is generous Treatment, compar'd with the baſe Calumny which

(a) *Anſwer to a Letter ſent to the Rev. Dr.* Sherlock, *p.* 18.

(b) *Conſiderations, p.* 19.

concludes his Diſcourſe concerning *the Religion of Oaths* (*a*). He has made a ſhift there to repreſent a few Words of his Lordſhip in a diſadvantageous Light; by tearing them from all the Limitations that lay round about them, and tacking a malicious Comment of his own to them; he has made them ſound ſtrangely ſhocking. The Calumny is ſufficiently anſwer'd: But that which I would obſerve, is, the ſcandalous Uſe he propoſes to make of this Quotation; which is not more to inſult the Biſhop as a raſh unguarded Writer, than it is to prejudice all with whom his Judgment will weigh any thing, againſt all that the Biſhop has publiſh'd, or may publiſh. I conſider it in this Light, as a flagrant Inſtance of the vileſt Cunning, and the moſt intolerable Inſolence together. And I know of nothing that can add to it's native Deformity, or make it appear more odious than in itſelf it is, unleſs it be the Conſideration of the very different Behaviour of the good Biſhop on all like Occaſions. You ſhall never ſee a Line of this Nature drop from his Pen, either under the greateſt Provocations and Injuries, or upon a more than imaginary Victory. Fancy'd Conqueſts puff others up, and make others vaunt themſelves; the moſt real and applauded Advantages cannot elate his Mind, or make him behave himſelf in any Reſpect unſeemly. After he had fully refuted, and clear'd himſelf of, the Calumny, he adds, *p.* 21 of that Anſwer, 'As to the *Dean*, I aſſure the 'World,

(*a*) *Page* 116.

'World, that after having ſhewn how greatly 'he has injur'd me, it is my ſincere Deſire 'that *this* may not lay the leaſt Prepoſſeſſion 'in the Way of any *Reader*, towards any one 'Argument he makes uſe of. He may argue 'very *well*, tho' he has uſed me very *ill*. 'I write this for my own neceſſary Vindi-'cation, and not to hinder his Arguments 'from having all the Weight they ought to 'have.' Here is Candour, Modeſty and Integrity, in an uncommon Degree: They need no Foil to ſet them off: Tho' every Part of the *Dean*'s Conduct cannot but ſerve to make them more conſpicuous.

But beſides theſe, there are other Methods, which the *Dean* has, of expreſſing a wonderful good Liking of himſelf, and his Performances. I remember an Obſervation of my Lord *Bacon*'s, which he borrows from *Pliny*, in his *Eſſay* on *Vain Glory*; 'Among the Arts of 'Oſtentation, there is none better than to 'be liberal of Praiſe and Commendation to 'others, in that wherein a Man himſelf hath 'any Perfection. For, ſaith *Pliny*, very wit-'tily, in commending another you do your 'ſelf right: For he that you commend, is 'either ſuperiour to you in that you com-'mend, or inferiour. If he be inferiour; if 'he be to be commended, you much more: 'If he be ſuperiour; if he be not to be 'commended, you much leſs.' By the help of this Remark, 'tis pretty eaſy to underſtand, and account for, the great Reſpect with which the *Dean* once and again mentions Dr. *Snape*, and his Writings. No Body, I dare ſay, except the Perſons themſelves, ever ſuſpected

him of Sincerity in commending the *Maſter* of *Eaton* (*a*) for an extenſive Charity; and Mr. *Law* (*b*) for ſtrong and unanſwerable Reaſoning, in his two Letters to the Biſhop. But if he could perſuade the World that Dr. *Snape*, after having aſſerted the Right of the Civil Magiſtrate *to terrify and keep Men in awe in their religious Capacity*, had, notwithſtanding this, a becoming Meaſure of Good Will to Mankind, almoſt an Exceſs of Charity for Chriſtians of a different Perſuaſion from his own; he might the more eaſily obtain Credit himſelf, for what he thought he had occaſion ſoon after to add, that he could with a clear Mind ſay, he had *ever pleaded againſt Perſecution*: Which could never otherwiſe have been believ'd, conſidering that it ſtands in the midſt of an open publick Plea for negative Diſcouragements, and incapacitating Laws, on the Account of meer Religion. But if Dr. *Snape* has enough and to ſpare, Dr. *Sherlock* can hardly overvalue himſelf on the much more goodly Appearance he has of Charity. And if the *Dean* can induce us to take it upon his Word, that Mr. *Law*'s looſe Declamations are ſtrong, and nervous, and convincing, he himſelf need never fear being eſteem'd, what he calls Mr. *Law*, *a very conſiderable Writer*. For I am ſatisfy'd, from me he won't take it as a very high Compliment, if I tell him, that he writes, as I verily think he does, ſomething better than Mr. *Law*, or Dr. *Snape* either.

Con-

(*a*) *Vind. of Corpor. and Teſt Acts*, p. 40.

(*b*) *Condit. and Examp. of our bleſſed Saviour*, &c. p. 62.

Contempt of others is a natural Attendant on Pride. An high Opinion of a Man's own Capacities will naturally lead to a mean one of other Peoples. And this makes the Sincerity of these Encomiums very doubtful, considering how natural and usual it is with the *Dean* to throw out disparaging Reflections on all with whom he has to do. A proud Author for ever fixes upon a disadvantageous Circumstance, to lessen the Credit and Esteem of any Man whom he has Occasion to mention. A younger Person at his first Appearance in the World, tho' with Modesty, and many Marks of clear Reason and fine Capacity, shall be turn'd off with Scorn, remitted to the Ferula, tauntingly reproach'd with officious meddling in a Matter of which he knows little. The Obscurity and Privacy of a Writer, which one would think should rather protect from Injury, shall be turn'd to a Disadvantage, and made a Reason of Insult: Tho' there are Circumstances, which may make it very justifiable or necessary to lie in the Shade, and the Reasons offer'd may be nevertheless weighty, and worthy of Regard; yet this shall be call'd wounding Men in the dark, and slaying Kings *by a Bow drawn at a Venture*. Then (*a*) *they take the Advantage to attack the Reputation of others, without hazarding their own. Several obscure Persons of late have insulted Men of great Abilities and Worth, and taken Pleasure to pelt them from their Coverts with little Objections; tho', it seems, the ill Success of their Attempts has justified their Prudence in concealing themselves.*

Mens

(*a*) Atterb. *Pref. to Vol. of Serm.*

Mens Capacities and Abilities, are repreſented as unequal to the Task, or unſuitably employ'd: Their peculiar Talents lye another Way, eſpecially if they meddle with Subjects a little out of the Way, or are thought to invade another's Province; and they are put in Mind of *Horace*'s Advice *(a)*.

Sumite Materiam veſtris, qui Scribitis, æquam
Viribus: & verſate diu quid ferre recuſent
Quid valeant Humeri.

When Dr. *Bentley* had given his Opinion of the Axis of the Earth, and the Face of the Moon, in his Lectures againſt Atheiſm; Mr. *Keil* reproves him with this bitter Taunt *(b)*: 'It were to be wiſh'd, that great Criticks would 'confine their Labours to their Lexicons, and 'not venture to gueſs in thoſe Parts of Learn-'ing, which are capable of Demonſtration." The ingenious Mr. *Norris*, tells the *Athenian* Society, who had remarked upon his Notion of Ideas, and the Nature of Sin *(c)*; *This it is, when Nature is not follow'd, when Science is uſurp'd; when a Sort of Men, whoſe Talents were never known to lye much towards Philoſophy, will turn a Conventicle into a Port Royal, and ſet up for Vertuoſo's.*

'Tis an Inſolence, Scorn, and Contempt, no way inferior to any of theſe, that the Dean of *Chicheſter*, every where diſcovers, in his mentioning Mr. *Sykes*. Whenever he does vouchſafe to take any Notice of him, he would be underſtood

(a) *De Arte Pœtica.*
(b) *Keil*'s Exam. *of Burnet*'s Theor. *p.* 70.
(c) *At the End of his Diſc. of the Beatit.* p. 52.

derſtood to look down upon him with the utmoſt Diſdain. He tells the Biſhop, and unluckily in falſe *Engliſh* (*a*), *That he had as* live *teach Children to read, as anſwer Mr.* S - - *'s Letter: I wonder he thought it neceſſary to write, before he had any thing to ſay to the Purpoſe. If you like ſuch a Second, my Lord, yet I muſt own to you, I don't like ſuch a Correſpondent* (*b*): *Nor can I imagine, what tempted your Lordſhip to put him to this Employment* (*c*). And in a later Piece, *If he would permit me to do him a good Office, I could very ſincerely ſay, I believe he knew nothing of the Matter.*

And yet he appears to know more than the Dean thinks fit to anſwer; and in Spite of this Grimace, his uneaſy Scorn, ſhews Mr. *Sykes*'s Knowledge to be very troubleſome to him; and would incline any Man to believe, that he would have lik'd him better for a Correſpondent, had he found him leſs knowing.

But if they are Men of the greateſt Merit and acknowledg'd Capacity; Skilful, and vers'd in Controverſial Writing, known to be Maſters of their Subject, the Pride of an Adverſary will find Ways to humble them, by odious Compariſon with other Writers; making them fall below themſelves, and unequal to their former Performances; or repreſenting them as beholden to others, who are below them. 'Tis with this View, the Letter in the *Flying Poſt*, *Jan.* 18 (*d*). 'is ſaid to come from an able 'Hand, and to be writ in a Spirit very diffe-

'rent,

(*a*) *Conſ.* p. 65.
(*b*) *p.* 76.
(*c*) *Vind.* p. 13.
(*d*) *Cond. and Exam.* &c. p. 50.

'rent, not only from the Paper in which it ap-'pears, but from that of the Biſhops own.' And the Biſhop is ſaid to *have inſerted his large Anſwer, at ſecond Hand, from Mr.* Sykes. Mr. *Sykes* had been all along repreſented in Terms of the utmoſt Contempt, as the worthleſs *Second* of his Lordſhip, and *one that knows nothing of the Matter* in Debate between the *Biſhop* and the *Dean*. But now he is grown the *Worthy* Mr. *Sykes*. And the Biſhop, it ſeems, is not only *Second* to Mr. *Sykes*, but *has inſerted great Part of his large Anſwer from him*. This Mr. *Sykes*, is certainly a very lucky Perſon in this Controverſy; for he has roſe from the loweſt Contempt of the Dean, *unfit to be employ'd as the Biſhop's Second*, to a Place Superior to the Biſhop himſelf; and of a Second is commenced a Principal. The Biſhop and He have ſhifted Places, and he has had his Turn of being, for the ſame Reaſons, an equal Object of the greateſt Scorn, and Eſteem.

There is a Piece of Conduct in Controverſial Writers, which hath a Mixture of much Pride, with ſome Stratagem in it; when, with an Air, that is very aſſuming and confident, they wholly overlook an Adverſary, and neglect his Arguments. It is a Condeſcenſion in an Author of Quality, to inſtruct his Inferiors; but to controvert any thing with them, wou'd be a Stain upon that Honour, that they can't think of without Indignation. This was the Way, the preſent *Biſhop of Rocheſter* took to anſwer Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*. He gave out, that his Adverſary was a Trifler, and his Arguments worthy only of neglect. The Party were ready enough to take it on his Word; and among them, perhaps, his Reputation and Principles too, were

better

better ſecured, than by attemping a Vindication.

Juſt thus has *the Dean of Chicheſter* choſen to treat Mr. *Sykes*'s two laſt Letters: He has not deign'd to conſider any one thing advanc'd in them; tho' I can't but think he will have extraordinary good Fortune, if he can perſuade the World to believe, that the true Reaſon of this Neglect is, becauſe he does really regard Mr. *Sykes* as a contemptible Writer.

But Mr. *Sykes* may the better bear this Uſage, conſidering that he has it in common with his Superiours. 'Tis with very little leſs Haughtineſs he treats the Biſhop of *Bangor* himſelf. He gives pretty plain Intimations, that he could hardly find in his Heart to make him any Reply: And, I believe, would have rid his Hands of him juſt as Dr. *Atterbury* did before, and as the *Dean* himſelf has done by Mr. *Sykes*, had not the Biſhop given him an Occaſion to humour the Party, and ſecure his Character among them, by pleading as plauſibly, and as honeſtly as he could, for thoſe beloved Bills. He knew this would put a great Part of the World on a falſe Scent; and that a Neglect of the Biſhop, heighten'd with a good deal of ſpecious Spite againſt the Sectaries, would paſs among his Admirers for a Confutation of his Reaſoning. And thus had he an Opportunity of humouring his own Arrogance, and dropping that part of the Diſpute that bore ſo hard upon his Honour and Integrity; which, without this Shift, would have lain very heavy on his Hands.

After *my Lord* had follow'd the *Dean* thro' what he had publiſh'd, there is no ſuch thing as Inſolence in the World, if this be not a flagrant

Inſtance of it, for the *Dean* to tell him, who in every thing truly vaiuable, is ſo much his Superiour, 'That whoever ſhall attempt to reply to 'it (*the Biſhop's Anſwer*) Step by Step, would 'find himſelf in a very *low* and *tedious* Employ-'ment. That the World would be ſoon tir'd 'of a Controverſy, that riſes no higher than, *I 'did not mean ſo*, and, *You did mean ſo:* And that 'a Writer muſt be at a loſs to ſpend his Time, 'who can be willing to purſue ſuch Trifles 'thro' a Quire of Paper (*a*).' Thus does he ſteal out of the Controverſy. Thus has this mighty Man diſengag'd himſelf from appearing any farther in it, becauſe the Biſhop himſelf is by far too little and trifling a Writer for Him to have to do with.

Now ſuch a proud Contempt of the Merit and Capacity of other Men, is unreaſonable and unfair. It puts a modeſt Adverſary out of Countenance, gives juſt and grievous offence to unconcern'd and impartial Perſons, betrays a weakneſs and littleneſs of Mind, and abates the Force of what is offer'd; makes a Man look ridiculous himſelf, and both invites and juſtifies the Contempt of others. *They trample on their Pride with greater Pride.* A proud Author dreſs'd with borrow'd Plumes, ſtrutting with imaginary Advantages, aſſuming ſuperior Airs, and talking magiſterially, is like a Bully in Converſation, the Terror, or Scorn, of all the Company. A A fair Enquirer after Truth will allow a candid Hearing to both Sides, and be as willing to receive

(*b*) *Pref. to Vindication.*

ceive, as to give, Light. A good Opinion of one's Adverſary, and a civil Uſage, makes a Controverſy entertaining and inſtructing; improves the Underſtanding, and Morals too. But this abuſive Way of Writing, mingled with Anger and Contempt, corrupts Mens Morals more than it enlightens their Minds; and for the moſt part does ſuch an Injury to Charity, as the moſt curious Diſcoveries, and the greateſt Advancement in Knowledge, can never compenſate and make amends for.

Upon the whole therefore, if the Dean will but humble himſelf ſo far as *to accept of a good Office* from an Inferior; for the ſake of his own Eaſe, Credit, and Uſefulneſs in the World, I would beg him, if poſſible, to lower a little his Opinion of his own Merit and Excellencies. That he may not feel all this Uneaſineſs, and give the World all this Trouble, every Time he ſees one whom he fancies to be his Inferior ſlip by him and get above him: It would certainly be Prudence in him to think more ſparingly on any of his real, or imaginary, Perfections: To liſten leſs greedily to the ill-grounded, if not ill-meant, Applauſes of his intereſted Friends and fawning Dependants. To think of ſomething; (and as great as he is, ſure he is not ſo perfect as to be able to call to mind nothing) that may be ſuited to mortify him. If he has nothing elſe, yet methinks his having once dropp'd a Sentence, that *he has too much Senſe to defend, and too little Ingenuity to retract*; namely, 'That the Spiritual 'Cenſures of the Church ſeldom take Effect, till 'the other World;' to recollect this ever and anon, ſhould be enough to convince him, that he is a fallible

lible Man; ſubject to be miſled by Paſſion, Prejudice, and Luſt of Power, as well as his Neighbours. And foraſmuch as he profeſſes a great Veneration for the Example of the bleſſed Jeſus, he would do well and wiſely, I think, to have the Meekneſs, Lowlineſs and Humility of our Saviour's Demeanour frequently in his Eye. 'Tis an Example that needs not to be Vindicated, but deſerves to be univerſally Imitated.

FINIS.

THE Occaſional Paper. Vol. II. Numb. XI. Letters to the Author. Containing ſome Remarks on the following Pamphlets, *viz.* 1. The Church of *England* Man's Memorial: Or the Hiſtory of Comprehenſion and Toleration. 2. Dr. *Cannon's* Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. 3. Dr. *Dawſon's* *Suſpiria Sacra.* Printed for *James Knapton*, at the *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard; *J. Roberts*, in *Warwick-Lane*; *J. Harriſon*, under the *Royal-Exchange*; and *A. Dodd*, without *Temple-Bar*, 1718. Price Six-pence.